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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1755



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AIMS, ROLE OF NATIONALITY PUBLICATIONS IN DANUBE VALLEY DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 24 Nov 79 p 7

[Interview with Edgar Balogh by Laszlo Zoldi: "Nationality Community--Public Life in the Danube Valley"]

[Text] "In his old age a man collects and turns to his descendants." The book entitled "Intelmek" [Admonitions] begins with this sentence. This characteristic work of the publicist living in Kolozsvár, which was published in 1972, contains the reflections of the then recently retired professor of publicism at Babes-Bolyai University, speaking to youth. The extensive list of titles discloses the collection and the "retired" Edgar Balogh's creative fulfillment. Since then the following have appeared: A volume of essays entitled, "Mesterek es Kortarsak" [Masters and Contemporaries] (in Bucharest), a collection of articles entitled, "Dunavolgyi Parbeszed" [Danube Valley Dialogue] (in Budapest), a study of his works by Gabor Gaal of "Korunk" (Our Times) entitled, "Itt es Most" [Here and Now] (in Kolozsvár), a series of commentaries entitled, "Taj es Nep" [Region and Nationality] (also in Kolozsvár), novella and essay collections entitled, "Szarnyas Oltar" [Winged Altar] (in Budapest), and a memoir entitled, "Szolgálatban" [In Service] (in Budapest). He who at the age of almost 73 has lived through and is an expert in the Eastern European scene is not repudiating himself on the occasion of his stay in Hungary. He speaks of his favorite theme--the interdependence of the peoples living in the Danube Valley.

[Question] Seven years, seven books--in fact eight, because as far as I know, your next volume is appearing in Bucharest soon.

[Answer] Our nationality publisher, Kritérium, is taking care of "Vargyasi Valtozasok" [Changes in Vargyas], a collection of my articles. During four decades I jotted down all that a former upper class child who married

into a Szekely peasant family could possibly observe in his new surroundings. He himself remained unchanged into his old age, but the village changed radically. My book preserves the process whereby the stockinged-petty coated farmer Szekelys became miners and industrial workers.

[Question] From the newspapers I am concluding that in addition to a collection in writings you are making time for speaking engagements. For example, you arrived at the Moricz commemorative session at Debrecen from Nagyvarad, where you spoke to the Ady Circle about his personal acquaintance, Zsigmond Morica.

[Answer] I came from a literary atmosphere into a literary atmosphere. In this atmosphere there is something which characterizes the era's intellectual inquiries. The speaking engagement at Nagyvarad was hardly an isolated undertaking. It was preceded by a tour which was organized by the editorial office of the Marosvasarhely "Igaz Szo" [The True Word]. With my friends and fellow speakers we stepped up to the rostrum at Csikszereda, Szekelyudvarhely, Sepsiszentgyorgy, Bucharest, and naturally also at Marosvasarhely. At each place I spoke for about 10 minutes about Moricz, but I always endeavored to say something different about him. On every occasion, however, I digressed for one handclasp, that Gabor Gaal, the legendary editor of "Korunk" [Our Times], clasped the hand of Lajos Hatvany, Hatvany clasped that of Pal Gyulai, Pal Gyulai that of Mor Jokai, Jokai that of Sandor Petofi, and Zsigmond Moricz grasped the intellectual sleeve of Petofi very forcefully. I believe that it is unnecessary to elaborate on this parallel. Rather, I will note that I also observed this continuity at the Debrecen commemorative meeting. Also invited to the centennial affair was Gelu Pateneau, the visionary translator of Moricz's works into Romanian, who also worked on the social evening of "Igaz Szo," and was its personal representative. Recollection of Zsigmond Moricz is not only an internal Hungarian affair, but a joint affair between Romanians and Hungarians. This duality, this Romanian-Hungarian relationship deriving from coexistence accompanies me everywhere, no matter where I go in the Danube Valley.

[Question] How could this undoubtedly peculiar relationship be elaborated to a broader scope, were it intensified into a Danube Valley dialogue?

[Answer] Primarily in practice. It is of symbolic value, for example, that not long ago in Budapest, the Szeged "Tisztataj" [Tisza Region] social evening was held at the Kossuth Club, at which Sandor Kanyadi from Kolozsvar introduced a young Romanian poet. The evening which I spent in the Budapest engineering students' club was also a delightful experience. During the social evening of the Carpathian Ukrainian-Hungarian poets, I could come face to face with myself in my youth, and came to recall the region about which I wrote the "Tiz Nap Szegenyorszagban" [Ten Days in Poverty Land] sociography in 1930. And several days ago, with the aid, progress and self realization of the sons and grandchildren of my previous acquaintances, I could again perceive that tough sub-Carpathian people. It was an experience to

meet again with the now 70-year-old writer friend, Janos Herceg from Vajdasag, with whom I last met in 1928, when we arranged the Ady festivities in Budapest. We recalled the events of those days, and how the young people gathered from various countries opposed the nationalisms of those days, and how they proved the interdependence of the Danubian peoples, following Endre Ady's example. I would consider it a continuation of historical tragedy if the awareness of interdependence would not break through the self-mauling self-mutilation.

[Question] Can the exceptional in-country interest in outside of Hungary Hungarian literature be explained by our tendencies to self-mauling, or by the awareness of our interdependence?

[Answer] Those who consider the contact with Hungarian literature outside of Hungary as only and merely a matter of Hungarian internal affair misunderstand the situation. Minority literatures in reality express historical purpose deriving from the historical situation: The moral character of coexistence. From the experience of a lifetime I am stating that nationality existence, whether among the circumstances of bourgeois society or socialism, predestines for a bridging role. This today is not only sung by poets, but the word "bridge" has found its way into the political dictionary, even if the conditions of existence for nationalities and minorities are hardly developing equitably. Nationality life is an oft-broken continuum containing curves and abuses, but it contains the prospect of perennial progress. In socialist systems, economic-social processes taking place--for example the specters of urbanization--are creating totally new realities. The conditions evaluated through the instruments of a previous sociography have changed fundamentally. Having remained in a more restricted homeland, the Hungarians of Romania became aware of the primary task of pulling themselves together, and of the dignity of nationality characteristics--as the chief editor of "Korunk," Erno Gall phrased it--and that these all the more indicate the possibilities for self-realization, both on the individual and institutional levels. Those who seek lawfulness in nationality life perceive the perspective of organized public life through the self-realization phase.

[Question] One of the forums of organized life is your great undertaking, the "Literary Encyclopedia of Romanian Hungarians," about which you stated in an interview in NEPSZABADSAG on Christmas of 1974: "...the finishing touches are still in progress, but I hope that perhaps the first volume may appear during the middle of the year (1975)." Just about 5 years have passed since, and the first volume has not appeared to this day.

[Answer] Of the original contributors, five have died, among them Elemer Jancso, Lajos Jordaki and Imre Miko. Those acquainted with their work realize the magnitude of this loss. Now, however, we have filled the editorial staff with young people, and have also augmented the old material. There is also a rose among the thorns: It has proven to be true that in the last half decade our intellectual life has been enriched with

considerable assets and also with the creations of young people who have appeared since. Under the new conception, the assessment of literature as general written material has received an even greater scope. In addition to belles lettres, the literary bearing of scientific literature, publicistics--as I call it, public literature--and even those of music and the fine arts are contained. The broadening of the subject area is related to the evolution of professional education. Just before my trip here, I participated at a beautiful and significant meeting. In the editorial office of "Korunk" we discussed the significance of the Romanian-Hungarian and Hungarian-Romanian technical dictionary. Our reality is indeed characterized by an interesting dualism: The infiltration of the traditional and still to a certain extent existent folklore into the so-called high culture, and on the other side, the modernization which accompanies urbanization. This is the dualism which I try to present in "Vargyasi Valtozasok," which was mentioned at the beginning of our conversation. Thus I believe that our culture is viable when it follows society-wide changes in all respects. Hungarian interests should also broaden in this way. Not only the mutual effects of literature should live and prosper! Not only our ballad treasures and dance houses should arouse attraction! It would be good if the accomplishments of technical civilization would vitalize each other, if the new industrial prosperity would bind Romania and the new Hungary together.

[Question] Of course, urbanization may have a drawback, especially among the circumstances of nationalities and minorities. The young Hungarian struggling in the city may easily lose contact with his region, his people and his particular traditions. Your concerns in this regard were formulated in a rather sharp tone in the volume entitled, "Intelmek" [Judgments].

[Answer] At the time when "Intelmek" was published, a philosophical essayist group appeared, the Diotima Circle of Kolozsvár. The talented young people's breaking through the old, calcified thought systems was apparent in the trilingual student journal, "Echinok," and in "Fellegvár," the young people's supplement to the daily paper, "Igazság." The neo-Western influx aroused worries in me because it opened up an ideological process in which estrangement from the homeland played a role, at least for a while. My book entitled "Taj es Nep," in which I endeavored to relate through our circumstances the links mentioned by Gyula Fekete, was at least partly addressed to these young people. It would, however, be unfortunate to approach this subject through conflicts, since at a meeting--again organized by "Korunk"--we successfully worked out the new synthesis of neoavant-gardeism and the (modern) service of the people through a splendid course of discussions. Also characteristic of today's conditions is the fact that "Ifjumenkas" [Young Worker], published in Bucharest, held a meeting in Kolozsvár not long ago at which 1,200 young Hungarians--600 factory workers and 600 secondary school students--participated. At this social evening, the young people of the dance house movement appeared with popular commitment and presented folklore material which were typically nationality representations, but with which the neoavant-garde author group, Geza Szocs, Peter Egyed and colleagues still related. A relationship was found between

them and a new kind of mutual interpretation process was begun. There is no need to say that in the newly edited, soon to be appearing first volume of the "Romaniai Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon," "Diotima," "Echinox," Peter Egyed and Geza Szocs are appearing as entries. On the other hand, even the Moricz social evening at Nagyvarad testified to a tendency toward nationality community cooperation. The neoavant-garde oriented members of the Ady Circle also lay claim to the intellectual heritage of Zsigmond Moricz.

[Question] Nationality community. Characteristic word combination of Edgar Balogh. Can this key concept be conceived as some sort of intellectual testament?

[Answer] I have in mind the Hungarian nationality of Romania becoming a community. My experiences indicate that only community and public life make it possible to raise the morality of coexistence to the level of a nationality characteristic. This also has a more universal significance. I am convinced that the 1980's will strengthen Danube Valley and Eastern Europe connections. I believe that the peace policy of the Soviet Union will make possible the birth and emergence of numerous new nations in Africa, Asia and South America in the next century. How much the world scale process of national evolution is imbued with internationalism depends on our example.

9093

CSO: 2500

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CSSR, RSFSR COOPERATION--The delegation of the central leadership of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Association, led by D. Kharitonov, RSFSR deputy minister of university and secondary school education and deputy chairman of the association, arrived on 14 December in Prague for an official visit, to discuss with the representatives of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association the results achieved in mutual cooperation and to sign the joint protocol in the further prospects of this cooperation in the coming period. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Dec 79 p 2 AU]

USSR ACADEMY DELEGATION TO CSSR--Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received today in Prague a delegation of the leadership of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow, headed by its rector, Vadim Medvedev. During a friendly conversation the guest was informed about the fulfillment of the 15th party congress tasks. The two representatives also discussed questions of further cooperation between the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the CPCZ Central Committee high political school. [Text] [LD181830 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Dec 79 LD]

YOUTH COOPERATION PROTOCOL--Prague--A protocol on cooperation between the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth and the Socialist German Workers' (SDAJ) organization of West Germany for 1980 was signed here Monday by their chairmen. The document includes concrete forms of bilateral cooperation, mainly exchange of student delegation, information and materials on the life and work of the youth in the two countries. [LD190446 Prague CTK in English 2012 GMT 17 Dec 79 LD]

CSO: 2020

CSSR'S BENO: OUR NATION SUPPORTS SOVIET PEACE PROPOSALS

AU191524 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 79 pp 1, 2 AU

[Report signed (LH) on a gala evening held in Prague on 12 December at the end of the 1979 month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, addressed by Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee Secretary]

[Excerpt] In another part of his speech, Comrade Beno also spoke about the application of Soviet experience in order to perfect management in the sphere of party and state activity. The theoretical development and practical application of V. I. Lenin's ideological legacy--the Marxism of the current epoch--is of great importance for the activity of our party, state and social bodies. The study of the objective laws of advanced socialism by Soviet science and the practical application of these findings by the CPSU and its Central Committee when resolving the fundamental issues of construction are of good help also in our work. In this connection he noted with what great attention and seriousness our citizens study the wealth of ideas contained in L. Brezhnev's books "Malaya Zemlya," "Rebirth" and "Virgin Lands." They contain the living testimony of the life-giving strength of the Leninist style of work. They summarize the experience of communist tenacity in the struggle for progress and in the party-political work.

Later in his speech, Comrade Beno devoted himself to the Soviet Union's peace policy. A few weeks ago, another great peace initiative of the Soviet Union resounded from Berlin. Leonid Brezhnev condemned the new threat to all nations of Europe, the attempt to force upon them new rivalry in the production of nuclear weapons. The Soviet constructive peace proposals express the aspirations of all peace-loving mankind--to curtail armaments and negotiate the reduction of military forces. These proposals have been finding support among millions of people in Europe and on other continents, and mobilizing popular masses in the struggle for consolidating peace. Our working people, too, welcome and unequivocally support the Soviet Union's peace initiative and express their unambiguous agreement with these proposals. We are convinced that in order to achieve peace and the development of peaceful cooperation on our continent a speedy opening of negotiations is necessary, Beno emphasized.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

UNION HEAD SEES VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR--Prague--Chairman of the Czechoslovak Women's Union Marie Kabrhelova received here on Tuesday Vietnamese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Nguyen Tien Thong. The Vietnamese representative thanked in the name of the Union of Vietnamese Women to the Czechoslovak Women's Union for its solidarity with Vietnam. Marie Kabrhelova and Nguyen Tien Thong also discussed some questions concerning the development of cooperation between the two women organizations in 1980. [LD 182216 Prague CTK in English 1904 GMT 18 Dec 79 LD]

CC CONDEMNS NATO DECISION--Prague--The Czechoslovak working people condemn the U.S and NATO attempts to upset the military balance in Europe, the Central Council of Trade Unions Presidium said in a statement on the NATO decision to deploy new nuclear weapons in Western Europe, issued today. This decision is based on the deceitful assertion that armament is necessary because of a "threat from the East." The Czechoslovak people also condemn the attempts to pursue a policy from the position of strength to bring new tension into international relations, to reduce prospects of security and peace for the nations in Europe and in the world, the statement stressed. This is an attack on the vital interests of the working people, which undermines the European Trade Union movement's efforts to strengthen joint steps to secure social progress for the working people of all countries. The Central Council of Trade Unions supports the new Soviet initiative at lowering military potentials of NATO and Warsaw treaty member countries and starting immediate talks on military detente and disarmament in Europe, the statement said. In the present situation, the accelerated convening of a world trade union conference on social and economic aspects of disarmament is especially necessary because after the NATO decision, military budgets will grow rapidly, which will adversely affect the working people, while profits of military-industrial monopolies will further increase. [Text] [LD191815 Prague CTK in English 1702 GMT 19 D-c 79 LD]

FRG SOCIALIST YOUTH DELEGATION--Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today a delegation of the Socialist German Working Youth from the FRG. The delegation of this progressive Marxist-Leninist organization is led by Werner Stuermann, member of the presidium of the DKP and chairman of the Socialist German Working Youth. The meeting was conducted in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [LD181742 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 18 Dec 79 LD]

PDRY FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION--On 15 December a delegation of the PDRY Committee of Friends of the CSSR arrived in Prague for a visit of a few days. The delegation is led by Muhammad Awad al-Sadi, deputy chairman of the committee and presidium member of the PDRY Supreme People's Council [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Dec 79 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

GRIEVANCES, FUTURE OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Assessment of Seigewasser's Successor

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 10-11 Nov 79 p 9

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, editorial staff member, datelined Berlin/GDR, 9 November: "Bridge to Churches in Atheistic State--In Surprisingly Fast Move, GDR Leadership Appoints Klaus Gysi as State Secretary Seigewasser's Successor." For additional West German commentary on subject of GDR state-church relations, see JPRS 74521, 6 Nov 79, No 1731 of this series, pp 22-24]

[Text] The GDR's new state secretary for church affairs, Klaus Gysi, takes over his office at a time when the relationship between the atheistic state and the "church in socialism" is beginning to stabilize. Observers of the many-sided development of these relationships believe the experienced politician of cultural affairs and diplomat has the sensitivity to continue the exchange of views between the state and the churches.

By quickly naming a successor to Hans Seigewasser, who died on 18 October at the age of 75 and was buried on Monday of this week, the GDR Government demonstrated that it does not want to interrupt the dialog with the churches. The personality of the man selected might also be a guarantee that the dialog directed by Seigewasser will be continued.

It was to Seigewasser's credit during his 19 years as the official discussion partner for bishops and other ecclesiastical and religious representatives to have clarified, in as far as conditions permitted it, the relationship between state and Church. Not only his steadiness (of course considering the narrow framework provided him as the executing agency of the GDR Government) was appreciated, but also his predictability.

Whether his successor, Gysi, can also satisfy these demands remains to be seen. It is known that the 67-year old communist was an active resistance fighter against the National Socialists and that he was imprisoned in a concentration camp, just like both of his predecessors Hans Seigewasser (1960-79) and Werner Eggerath (1957-60). This common past also ties him to many Christians of the older generation.

Klaus Gysi was born in Berlin in 1912. At age 16 he joined the communist youth organization, and 3 years later the KPD. In 1935 he was expelled from the university in Frankfurt/Main, while a student of economics. He witnessed the end of the war in a concentration camp (following 5 years of emigration in France). In 1945 the Soviets appointed him as district mayor for Berlin-Zehlendorf. Next he became editor-in-chief of the cultural journal AUFBAU, and later he assumed various functions in the GDR's Federation for Culture. Finally he directed the well-known Aufbau Publishing House for 9 years. During that period the cultured and astute SED functionary had already become known as a brilliant debater.

Walter Ulbricht named Comrade Gysi minister for culture in 1966. But he had to give up that position in 1973, after he had practiced self-criticism at the Eighth SED Congress in the summer of 1971. "We have not as yet adequately developed the ideological leadership activity in the work of our ministry," he had to admit publicly at that time. But the party did not drop Gysi, who had never felt quite comfortable in the minister's chair. Shortly after his dismissal he was appointed as the GDR's first ambassador to Rome. Presumably he also established contacts with the Vatican while there. He returned to East Berlin in 1978 and became general secretary of the GDR's Committee for European Security and Cooperation, which also had some contacts with Western church circles.

When one views his life, it appears that Gysi is a suitable man for a position such as state secretary for church affairs, the management of which requires endurance and the ability to compromise. The actual power of this office, which was created in 1957 and which stands between two worlds--the communist and the Christian--is not very great. Firstly, the state secretary is only the executing agency of the Council of Ministers and is under the authority of the Secretary for Interior. Secondly, the GDR's actual Church policy is made in the SED Central Committee. There the Politburo member Paul Verner is responsible for church affairs. All that remains for the state secretary is the task of building bridges and arranging the discussion.

Since the meeting between Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR's Council of State and the board of directors of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in 1978 a new self-assurance has developed among the GDR's active Christians. During that meeting the role of the Church and its involvement in society was recognized, while keeping in mind the differing basic convictions and the clear separation of state and Church. This is also demonstrated in the most recent statements by the Land synod of Mecklenburg, which call attention to the dangers in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and the warning by the Church Federation not to expect too much from a signature petition for peace. Klaus Gysi will also have to deal with these matters.

Problems for Young Christians

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German Vol 34 No 46, 16 Nov 79 p 27

[Article signed "H.B.": "Synod in Schwerin"]

[Text] At the synod of Mecklenburg's Land Church, which is currently in session, a high church official, Walter Schulz, announced that the Land Church has again voiced the desire to conduct talks with responsible persons of the GDR's Ministry for Public Education concerning the continuing problems experienced by young Christians in state educational institutions. The fundamental problem lies in the fact that the centralized socialist educational system does not take into consideration the fact "that there are pupils and parents who are not in accord with the ideological principles of this system." This causes teachers to behave differently toward Christian children and their parents.

Apart from these basic problems there are a number of individual questions which have to be clarified in a discussion with state representatives. The high Church official, Schulz, listed paramilitary education, problems with regard to admission to the extended secondary schools, the refusal to grant awards to Christian pupils despite their good performance, and the question as to what the schools understand by "social involvement."

At the center of the Mecklenburg synod's consultations was the planned federation of the GDR's eight Land churches into the "United Evangelical Church of the GDR." Mecklenburg's Land Bishop Dr Heinrich Rathke voiced his opinion concerning this matter in a report concerning the state of his Land church. He expressed his expectation that the Evangelical Church would "become for others a simpler, broader and more helpful church" as a result of this merger. He expected from this merger a "community of the open door," especially for those "who live among us as non-Christians and conscious atheists," but also for those beyond the borders of the state and the society as it exists here.

"Our churches have to be better bridge builders in today's world," said the bishop. This includes the special relationship with the Christians and the churches of the FRG. "As Germans we have a tremendous joint responsibility for peace, understanding and reconciliation, especially here on the frontier between two world views in the heart of Europe." He also hoped for greater openness towards the Catholic Church and the free [nondenominational] churches.

9410

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

CHILDREN IN CLASS STRUGGLE--'PIONIERLEITER,' the periodical for functionaries of the JP [Young Pioneers], GDR communist children's organization, has urged that the 1.9 million JP members be "actively included in the class struggle." The periodical states that the "intensification of the class struggle" requires "more than ever before" that the JP be made familiar with the nature and goals of SED policy and that they "be actively included in the revolutionary struggles of our time." The JP's love for and loyalty to the socialist fatherland, their friendship with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, their solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation, "their hatred of misanthropic imperialism" should be emphasized and further developed to the same extent "as their need and will to strengthen and protect the socialist fatherland." The children are not growing up in a hothouse environment; they cannot "be protected against all attempts of enemy ideology to influence them." Therefore, it is imperative that they "be qualified to represent a firm class standpoint." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 190, 14 Dec 79 pp 1-2]

ITALIAN RESISTANCE GREETES HONECKER--[Editorial Report AU] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 17 December 1979, p 3, carries the 400-word text of a letter sent to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, together with a photograph of a membership card, by the national association of the victims of political persecution and antifascists of Italy (ANPPPIA), a member organization of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters. The letter reports that ANPPPIA, on the occasion of the GDR's 30th anniversary, had shown several GDR films in Livorno in order to give the people an impression of the German comrades' resistance fight against Hitlerite fascism, and that, in view of the great response by the public, the organization had decided to show the films at several Livorno schools. The letter expresses thanks for the GDR solidarity with ANPPPIA and esteem for the GDR's help given to the people of Vietnam, Kampuchea, and other oppressed people. The letter concludes with best wishes for 1980 and is signed by the secretary of the ANPPPIA Centro-Porto "V. Jacoponi" section as well as by the ANPPPIA "Anne Frank" women's group.

FDJ-FRENCH YOUTH AGREEMENT--The Movement of Young Communists of France (MJCF) and the GDR's FDJ are to develop their cooperation. In a protocol on cooperation during 1980 signed today by representatives of the two organizations, the two sides affirmed the need for a broad action front by the young in the fight for safeguarding peace and disarmament. The FDJ and MJCF supported the convening of a world conference of the young for disarmament in 1980. The two youth organizations attach the greatest importance to the strengthening of anti-imperialist solidarity. [Excerpt] [LD190438 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1243 GMT 17 Dec 79 LD]

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DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER SOCIALISM

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOZOFIE in Romanian No 4, Jul-Aug 79 pp 426-434

[Article by Ion Florea, Alexandru Tanase and Victor Ducelescu: "Democracy, Revolutionary Humanism and Human Rights and Freedoms Under Socialism"]

[Text] Socialism, democracy and humanism form an indestructible dialectical unity. Further expansion of socialist democracy and of the individual's basic rights and freedoms is an essential aim of the improvement of the new society and its management. Socialism practices real democracy and true humanism, permits complete emancipation of the individual and full development of his personality, and institutes a better quality of life and a new system of values that lend purpose and humanity to social relations, the individual and the community in which he lives.

1. The new kind of democracy instituted by the socialist system is superior to any previous form of democracy primarily in its social and production relations, based upon common ownership of the production means, upon alliances radically different from antagonistic relations between classes and between classes and the government, and upon higher principles and values characteristic of socialism. Elimination of private-capitalist ownership and consequently of exploitation of man by man leads to better and profoundly humane relations of equality, collaboration and mutual aid among all members of society. As producers, owners and beneficiaries alike of the national wealth and builders of Romania's material and cultural progress, they are becoming for the first time in history the leaders of the nation's destinies and their own individual destinies thanks to the advance of socialist democracy and to the economic, social and legal guarantees of the rights and freedoms they enjoy.

By its very nature socialist democracy is clearly superior to bourgeois democracy as a means of implementing the people's power and by virtue of the features that it promotes. As we know, bourgeois democracy emphasizes the form of government rather than its content, in order to disguise its limited class character as an expression of the political and economic domination of the capitalist class. Characteristically reflecting these interests, bourgeois ideology and political science give priority on the theoretical level

to the formal aspects of the exercise of political power, most often to the exclusion of the content of the state power and the class character and purpose of its institutions and bodies.

Socialist democracy appears partly as a series of social institutions and organizations of a state and public nature structurally and functionally integrated in a uniform system, the system of socialist democracy, and partly as a series of democratic principles and norms on which all social activities are based, such as democratic centralism, local autonomy, leadership of the working class, collective management and effective participation of the masses as producers in the management of the socioeconomic units, socialist self-management, the inseparable unity of democracy, liberty, social responsibility and legality, and revolutionary humanism.

Socialist democracy also appears as an extensive system of civil rights and freedoms in the economic, political, social-cultural and human fields. The superiority of socialist democracy is seen in its guarantee of these rights and freedoms and in its protection of the citizen from any violations of his rights and freedoms. This lends socialist democracy a real character, since it does not stop at formally proclaiming civil rights and freedoms but seeks to carry them out and provides the material and organizational conditions for their implementation and expansion.

Unity among the political, economic and social aspects is an essential characteristic of our socialist democracy. This also sharply distinguishes it from bourgeois democracy and brings out its superiority. For however advanced the democratic regime in any capitalist country may be, as long as economic power remains in the hands of the exploiting classes, no extensive economic democracy is possible nor can the workers determine economic policy and its aims, even if this situation is disguised by a system of "coparticipation."

But socialist democracy and effective mass participation in social management do not come automatically by themselves. They do not result from the socioeconomic structure of the new order directly, but as a general, purposeful historical process brought about by a vast effort on the part of the revolutionary party of the working class to perfect the organizational and institutional framework and to resolve the social contradictions that arise, as it endeavors to constantly enhance the workers' training and awareness, their political activism and their sense of responsibility. Accordingly there is no basis for the assertions of various western authors who contrast science and technical competence with democracy and speak of a pronounced incompatibility between technical-scientific rationality and the application of democratic principles to management. For example the adherents of the elitist and technocratic theories think the present technical civilization makes decisions so complex and delicate that they would be difficult or even impossible to make with participation and consultation of the masses, and that under the present scientific-technical revolution the aim of mass participation is illusory and impossible to achieve. Of course this alleged incompatibility is peculiar to capitalist society and its attempts to constantly technocratize and bureaucratize political and economic activity. Socialism

has clearly demonstrated that this contradiction, which is real and can endanger mass participation in management, can be resolved in the best way. Under socialism the political leaders use democracy as a means both to rationalize and perfect socioeconomic activities and to raise the general standard of the entire people's education and culture and perfect the democratic approach in management activity.

The rapid process of continuing modernization and improvement of the economy and all political and social activity has been fully correlated in Romania with the process of extending the scope of democratic mass participation in decision making both on the job (in plants, agricultural cooperatives and institutions) and on the local, sectorial and national levels. Thanks to consistent application of the party's strategy of enlisting the working class, farmers, intellectuals and all citizens in the nation's government and in the administration of communities and socioeconomic units, an extensive democratic and original organizational and institutional system has been created that is unique of its kind, wherein the various democratic bodies are combined in a uniform and harmonious whole, supplementing each other and providing for effective participation of the workers regardless of nationality in the management of socialist society on all levels and in all its microsocial and macrosocial components.

As expressions of this systematic and consistent effort, collective management bodies largely composed of workers with a wealth of experience are operating in all socioeconomic units and the workers general assemblies have asserted themselves as impressive forums of our socialist democracy on the socioeconomic level.

A number of national democratic forums have been instituted in recent years that meet regularly, such as the Congress of Workers Councils, the Congress of People's Councils, the Congress of Management Councils of Socialist Agricultural Units and All Farmers, and the Congress of Education and Instruction, with standing, democratic administrative bodies. Moreover some bodies with characteristics of both state and party or public organs have appeared and operate in the system of our political and democratic organization, performing both political party functions and executive state functions. There are also deliberative forums that are democratic and widely representative in their composition, such as the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development, the Council for Socioeconomic Organization, the Central Council for Workers Control, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the National Council for Science and Technology, etc.

This whole far-reaching democratic system serves the same end, namely to give the masses the widest access to social management, to decision making and in general to the exercise of political power not only through representatives but also through direct participation in management of all social activities. This permits the best exercise of civil rights and freedoms, full assertion of the human personality, and advancement of the principles of socialism, justice and humanism. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Joint Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council for

Socioeconomic Development, which ratified the draft documents that will be discussed at the 12th Party Congress, the problem in the present stage is to provide for the improvement and best operation of these bodies so that they will "actually take full responsibility for all activity in every field and in every unit." (1)

As a continuing process, the development of socialist democracy enhances the role of the masses in purposeful historical creation and in the free construction of a happy future as they wish it as well as the exercise of the people's sovereignty in both the internal and external aspects of their power in the socialist state. Therefore the representative forms of democracy must be very closely coordinated in our party's view with those of direct, participative democracy.

Meanwhile socialist democracy is a comprehensive process, including in its functions not only the political area of social relations and full equality of rights but also the essential component of unrestricted access, without any discrimination, to the values of culture and science and to all the nation's social, political and cultural activity.

On the level of culture and education, democracy is manifested both in the wide access of the masses to the cultural values and in the possibility that they will become creators of culture.

In the field of education, for example, which is the main subject of socialist culture and civilization, democratism is manifested both in free education available to all workers' sons and in promotion of the principles of socialist democracy in the activity of educational units of all kinds and institution of forms of their collective management with extensive participation of teachers, pupils or students, youth organizations, and workers' and parents' representatives. The new law on education and instruction established the Congress of Education and Instruction as a broad democratic forum in the management of this field of socialist civilization and culture. The first such congress, which is about to be held, will be a high point in Romanian democracy and in the establishment of a general democratic system throughout education.

The institution at the start of 1979 of the system of self-management and self-administration of enterprises and of other economic and territorial-administrative units is an important step in the evolution of socialist democracy in Romania with far-reaching effects upon all economic, political and social activities. This measure of historical importance to our democratic and political progress resolves the contradiction that once arose between the general democratic structure and the unduly centralized, inflexible, obsolete and very complicated economic mechanism. Self-management and self-administration in Romania will enhance the power of independent decision and the direct responsibility of the workers collectives and collective management organs in revolving the various problems beginning with determination of the plan, conclusion of contracts, compilation of the budget of incomes and outlays, and profit sharing by workers. The adoption and future

improvement of the self-management and self-administration system in the economic units marks a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy and in the extension of the purposeful participation of the working class, the farmers and the other workers to the good management and increase of our material wealth and to socioeconomic management.

The recent Joint Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Romania's Socioeconomic Development took new measures to consolidate party and social democracy, and the 12th Party Congress will be a landmark in the progress and improvement of socialist democracy in Romania and in all social improvement. The plenum took steps to enhance party democracy "by preparing for widespread participation of the communists and all party members in decision making and in implementing party policy in all activities." (2) Precise criteria were adopted for forming the Central Committee, by election of one Central Committee member per 12,000 communists and one alternate member per 18,000 communists with the present number of party members, providing for proportional representation in all areas and counties of Romania. Such criteria were also set for electing the county, city and communal party organs in order to prevent any infraction of the party's democratic rules and regulations.

2. Socialist democracy is also the political framework for carrying out the principles of revolutionary humanism and for the formation and operation of truly humane economic, social and political relations emphasizing the individual and his freedom and happiness. Introduction of the forms and methods of socialist democratism in the operation of all social and administrative bodies as well as their continuing improvement is the very method whereby the social relations are harmonized between people, between individuals and society, and between members of microsocial and macrosocial communities and their managements. Only a broad democratic background can provide conditions favorable to full assertion of the human personality, complete use of its creative capacities, development of culture, art and science, and the all-around progress of socialist society. As Nicolae Ceausescu put it, "Socialist democracy is an expression of revolutionary humanism, which sees achievement of personal happiness in the light of creation of the entire people's happiness" (3). Socialist democracy actually applies humanism to the political management of society and its functioning.

As we know the new humanism first appeared on the ideological level as theoretical Marxist humanism, as a factor and component of the critical consciousness as regards the realities of the capitalist world, and as a basic scientific design for the radical future reform of the world of man and its transformation from a "vale of tears" for the exploited into a more just and more humane world. The novelty of revolutionary humanism lies in crossing this gap in the field of the humane and combining, in an inseparable unity, the individual aspect opposed to oppression of the individual with the social, objective and material aspect, and the moral consciousness of the mechanisms of necessity with the newest aspects of freedom and community prosperity, with the welfare and improvement of the individual, and with the evaluation of the man both as a social and as an individual being.

In the view of our party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, and in the light of Romania's social experience the new humanism transcends the phase of pious aims advanced solely on the ideal level, since it is a humanism of thought and deed at one and the same time and socialism humanizes alike the world of things, the world of social relations and the world of man's subjective faculties. Like the democratism of our order, which takes many forms, revolutionary humanism as our party sees it is a complete humanism, being an attribute of socioeconomic, political and ideological-cultural activity or, in a word, of all social experience. The new humanism radically reforms the contradictions of modern capitalist civilization between economic development and moral underdevelopment, between the technical environment and the ideal set of values, between the material powers of technology and the spiritual power of man, and between technicizing man and humanizing technology. It calls for a new technical reality and a new human reality.

To be sure socialist humanism is primarily a humanism of work and of our economic system, but being complete it is also fully operative in the areas of political and social relations and of cultural life.

Work freed of exploitation accomplishes the second great ontological leap in the history of mankind, the first one, which led to the appearance of man and society, having been originally achieved entirely through work. The very ideas of effectiveness and productivity are taking on a qualitatively new meaning pertaining not only to the best operation of the technical system resulting in the quantity and quality of the output, but also to the institution of optimal methods of human improvement resulting in the material and spiritual quality of life.

Revolutionary humanism is a humanism of both the means and the ends. The means no longer conflict with the ends, both being harmonized and adapted to each other. It is oriented primarily toward the present and future, anticipating and taking effective action for the further improvement of man and society and for human happiness and freedom.

Socialist humanism is fully operative in the area of political relations, through democratic participation of the masses in social management and in enforcement of human rights and freedoms. The humanism of work and economic relations is harmonized with the humanism of social, political and international relations.

And socialism is also revolutionizing human nature itself. The idea of human riches is taking on a new meaning as it is freed of the possessive instinct and correlated with a scale of values that rejects economic and moral alienation and opens the way to the complete disalienation of man. This revolution in human nature demands man's emancipation from national and social oppression and exploitation and his economic, political and religious disalienation, as well as change of man's existential status and formation of a new and constantly enriched and diversified axiological environment.

Economic, social and cultural progress brings about and pursues the multiple diversification and differentiation of people and their all-around assertion as creative personalities.

Fully developed socialism and especially communism as a higher stage will lead to abolition of the conditions that compel man to be the slave of his material requirements and economic needs. This means that wealth or poverty, necessity, need and idleness must acquire a primarily ethical significance of a spiritual nature. For the rich man, as Marx said, will no longer be the one who has as much as possible in the economic sense but the one who is as much as possible in the sense of creative work and the intellect. Man's poverty becomes an inner, moral poverty while wealth also acquires a human, social and spiritual significance as a wealth of social and human relationships. The Marxist idea of the "complete man" and a versatile personality is becoming increasingly clear under our society as an expression of the general democratization of social, political and cultural activity. By combining the democracy of culture, as free and equitable access to the intellectual values, with participative democracy and general participation in the creative act itself of civilization and culture, man is created for himself on a higher level as a creative personality, not as an exception or an individual rarity but on a mass, social scale.

From this standpoint socialist democratization is the framework for humanizing social and political relationships, for manifesting society's confidence in and requirements of its members, for enhancing the creative qualities and for disseminating the positive values that lend true purpose to the usefulness and life of the individual and his activities and militate against any social, national or other discrimination. The intrinsic human qualities of work, material and intellectual creation, effective contribution to progress and social development, and promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice and of humanism, which socialism as real, practical humanism strives to bring out become the criteria for evaluating and advancing the individual in society and indices of the quality of socialist life and civilization and of progress as a whole.

3. On the democratic level socialism gives expression to complete humanism and thereby guarantees the civil and fundamental human rights and freedoms without which man's development would be inconceivable. Socialist democracy is the very framework for the assertion and development of the personality and the human rights and freedoms.

The RCP regards the new content of political power as well as socialist social relations as the main guarantee of human rights and freedoms and the best background for the free development of human creativeness and of people's dignity and value and for their active and purposeful participation in socialist and communist construction. In Romania's political doctrine, characterized by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive contribution, the economic, political and social guarantees carry out the socialist conception of the rights of man and project their many meanings and implications upon social and political activity.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Address to the Main Party and State Activists on 3 August 1978, "Our conception of democracy and accordingly of the rights of man is based upon the need of ensuring full equality among people and of achieving just socioeconomic relations enabling every citizen to lead a worthy life, upon free access to education, culture and science and the possibility of direct participation regardless of nationality, especially for the working masses, in the management of all society. Only this practical approach to the problem of democracy can provide for the full development of the human personality and serve the cause of unshackling man to be truly free and master of his fate." (4)

The objectives of the program for Romania's development on the path of building fully developed socialism and transition to communism broaden the basis of the guarantee of democratic rights and freedoms. The program provides an unprecedented growth of the productive forces, development and modernization of the technical-material base, intensive growth of industrial and agricultural production, and application of scientific research results to production, all social activity, and social and production relations. Development and diversification of socioeconomic activity, extension of the technical and professional division of labor, creation of new jobs, and better conditions for education and instruction are factors for effective implementation of civil and human freedoms. Meanwhile thanks to our party's efforts the organizational and institutional framework for the working masses' wider and more active participation in social management and for exercise of their functions as owners and managers of the national wealth is being constantly developed and perfected. The right of all citizens to work and full assertion of the human personality in the fields of material and intellectual creation could not be secured without intensive socioeconomic development. In the Romanian view the rights of man and the citizen first require the guarantee and enforcement of the right to work and the rights to education, cultural creations, and a free and worthy life in complete and guaranteed security, responsible participation in social management, and assurance of freedom of conscience.

At the same time the individual cannot achieve his freedom and happiness without provision for the general national and social freedom and happiness, those of the people and the community where he lives and works.

Our party feels freedom in general and the freedoms of the individual are inseparable from social responsibility and the guarantee of the freedom and right to happiness of all members of society as essential to the happiness and freedom of each. Further extension of the civil rights and freedoms and their implementation heavily depend upon a greater sense of responsibility for society's general interests and development of awareness of everyone's obligation and commitment to do all he can for the entire people's welfare and happiness, for the defense of the nation's independence and sovereignty and our revolutionary gains, and for the victory of fully developed socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

As Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly said, real freedom and democracy are incompatible with freedom for fascism and terrorism, with unrestricted action

of the reactionary forces and destructive declassed elements that endanger people's lives and creative work and the harmonious development of society, with indiscipline and social anarchy, and with any irresponsible human acts.

These manifestations permitted in bourgeois democracy threaten the life and security of the citizen and of all society, as well as the democratic rights and freedoms won by the struggles of the masses. Of course such "freedoms" as dissemination of racist, chauvinist and antihumanist ideas and all views that violate human dignity and threaten people's liberty and peaceful work cannot be tolerated for a moment in our society and should not be tolerated in any society that claims to seek the achievement of human freedoms because they are profoundly antihuman and should be checked in the defense of human rights and the values of humanism.

The most varied interpretations of the problems of freedom and democracy are in circulation, expressing different ideological and class positions and various and even conflicting ways of solving the problems of social and human development in our times. Among the philosophical conceptions purporting to be philosophies of freedom but actually obscuring understanding of the problem of human freedom and the ways to emancipation are the nihilist and anarchist ideas of freedom merely as spontaneity, as the liberation of man from social norms and determinations, and as man's sheer possibility of choosing, undetermined by anything outside him, neither by society and its laws and norms nor by reason or conscience. The fundamental weakness of such ideas is the separation of freedom from its social determinations and misunderstanding of the real meaning and limitations of man's freedom in society, leading to justification of the free arbiter.

Distribution of the national income based on justice and its proper use for the benefit of all society, improvement of the principles of socialist distribution, and constant adjustment of the economic levers to the ever growing developmental requirements of Romanian socialist society are vital to the guarantee of rights and freedoms. The increasingly intensive application of the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice to distribution and to determination of suitable salaries for employed personnel is a direct expression of concern for the individual and an illustration of the implementation of revolutionary humanism through specific measures to enforce the rights of man.

In Romanian political theory and practice the rights of man take the form of a series of social prerogatives and obligations that can truly emancipate all members of society and guarantee their rights to work, to an equitable living standard, to education and culture, and to a full and purposeful participation in the management of public affairs. The economic and social rights, like the political and civil ones, are integrated in a uniform conception, presenting the picture of a harmonious system of prerogatives to which certain obligations of the individual to the community and of the latter to each individual necessarily correspond.

The socialist order, built by the free and sovereign choice of our people, creates the conditions for full development of the human personality against

a social background of real equality among people as producers, owners and beneficiaries of the national wealth and as leaders of all social-political processes. As the basic problems of building the new society were solved, the practices of discrimination among people were restricted and eliminated and a new kind of cooperative relations was formed, based on equality, mutual confidence and respect, and active, purposeful participation of all in the construction of the new society. The constitution and laws of the state and especially socioeconomic progress and the development of education, culture and socialist democracy actually and not just legally guarantee the many rights and freedoms of the citizens that are harmoniously correlated and interrelated with the interests of our socialist community as a whole.

One of the most graphic illustrations of the democratization of Romanian socialist society is our party's and state's constant effort to bring about full equality of rights between Romanian workers and those belonging to the national minorities, an effort primarily expressed by the concern for the economic and cultural welfare of all areas and counties of the nation and for proper working and living conditions for all workers regardless of nationality, and also by development of education and culture in the minority languages. This is also well illustrated by the expanded network of schools, publications and artistic units in the minority languages, permitting an intensive cultural life and equal participation with the other citizens in social management and in the construction of socialist culture and civilization.

The fact that the supreme goals of our party's policy are the individual and his welfare and happiness, all-around development of the human personality, and creation of a life based upon a high material and cultural civilization for the entire people is evidenced by the party's unremitting effort to raise the workers' material and cultural living standard. The average real wage has increased by more than 4 times since 1950, and the average family incomes from the social consumption funds have increased by about 14 times. For the whole 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan the average real wage will be up 32.3 percent and farmers' real incomes will be up 30 percent. In the next five-year plan the average real wage will be up 16-18 percent, and farmers' real incomes per employed person will be up 20-23 percent.

In pursuance of the policy of rational geographic distribution of the productive forces, in 1980 there will be an industrial output of at least 10 billion lei per county. The Draft Directives of the 12th Party Congress provide that the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan will intensify this process of eliminating the discrepancies in the development of the counties by adopting the per capita gross output index as a main criterion for evaluating each county's level of socioeconomic development and specifying an annual per capita gross output of at least 70,000 lei by the end of this period. The application of this original and equitable idea to geographic distribution of the productive forces will contribute to the general rise of the workers' material and cultural living standard and to the actual equality of all inhabitants of Romania regardless of nationality, an equality manifested in the material living conditions and those of instruction, broadening of the cultural horizon, and full use of the individual's creative capacities.

The inseparable bond between the citizens' basic rights and obligations is another characteristic of the approach to the problem of human rights in Romanian theory and practice. Conscientious fulfillment of the citizens' obligations in any area increases the possibility of securing the material, social-political and legal guarantees and establishing a climate of legality and security. In Romania the citizens' basic rights and freedoms comprise an interdependent whole, and they are secured interdependently. For instance the unrestricted right to education is closely related to the guarantee of the right to work and the assurance of secure jobs for all graduates of the various forms of education.

The aggravated crisis of contemporary capitalist society, which is all-inclusive, profoundly affects traditional bourgeois democracy itself and the guarantee of the basic rights and freedoms of the masses seriously impairs the human condition of those who work. The gulf between the "deontology" of bourgeois democracy and its implementation is widening in our times. The crisis of bourgeois democracy, as a component of the crisis of capitalist society, is characterized by the emptiness of the civil rights and freedoms and by the threat to the functioning of the existing bourgeois democratic system and to the enforcement of the basic rights and freedoms of the individual, and it profoundly affects the latter's condition, especially that of the worker, since the precariousness of his social and human condition as well as the forms of alienation of the individual are being aggravated and his safety and security are being threatened and endangered at every step. The fear and insecurity which the individual in contemporary capitalist society experiences and feels at each step are related not only to the consequences of the economic crisis for the workers but also to the intensified phenomena of terrorism and the recrudescence of the fascist and racist organizations in various countries. These phenomena are often tolerated ostensibly in the name of "democracy" and of human "rights" and "freedoms." But true democracy and freedom can have only a constructive purpose of cultivating the positive, progressive values of society and the aspirations to emancipation, creation, peace and happiness, as well as all that helps to humanize and protect the individual.

The action to defend the basic human rights and freedoms, included in the efforts of some international organizations like the United Nations, is of a progressive nature. It is correlated with the struggle of the workers and the peoples for full equality among men and among states, for a society free of exploitation, for a new international economic and political order, and for a better and more just world. As a socialist country Romania is promoting wide-scale international cooperation to protect human rights in the world of today. Brilliantly substantiating the new revolutionary concept of human rights, Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu scientifically explained the interdependence between protection and observance of human rights on the national level and in international cooperation, pointing out very clearly that the main areas upon which the efforts of the international community should be concentrated are those that vitally concern the interests of all peoples and their free and worthy lives in interdependence and sovereignty.

The distinctive features of the Romanian conception of the main directions of international cooperation in defense of human rights are: (a) The need of concentrating the efforts of each country and the world community upon the essential problems affecting the human condition and not upon collateral, marginal and nonessential problems; (b) Abolition of the policy of domination and dictation and attempts to redivide the world into spheres of influence; (c) Elimination of underdevelopment, as a prerequisite for promoting the freedom and dignity of the peoples and the individual in society; and (d) Eradication of the harmful phenomena that pollute the moral and human climate like fascism, racism and the policy of apartheid. Socialist Romania emphasizes the requirement for a code of the states' international conduct to establish the basic principles of collaboration on terms of full equality of all states, including defense of human rights and freedoms. Under these circumstances Romania emphasizes the inadmissibility of the use of humanitarian problems as a means of interference in the states' internal affairs and of the revival of the "cold war" practices contrary to the new spirit of international collaboration.

In the view of our political leadership, achievement of a human condition free of exploitation, the spectre of starvation, violence and arbitrariness requires a greater effort to understand and promote the true meaning of the humanitarian principles, the precepts of defense of the dignity and freedom of man, and the guarantee of his economic, political and legal rights as a member of the community. In Nicolae Ceausescu's view, observance of the great humanist principles should give expression to real concern for man, solution of the major problems, and fulfillment of the great aspirations to freedom, welfare and happiness, independence and peace.

The extent and gravity of the present problems in the experience of every people as well as on the international level concerning provision for and implementation of the basic human rights and promotion of the humanist principles make it abundantly clear that humanism has nothing in common with the attempts to shift the problems of human rights to the marginal or formal aspects and to create "false humanitarian problems" distracting the peoples' attention from the socioeconomic anomalies and discrepancies and from the profoundly negative phenomena that still persist in the world today, which must be eradicated in the name of concern and respect for man. Divorced from the specific social, political and economic realities and the respective national state context, this problem is used by some reactionary circles as a reason for interfering in the internal affairs of the socialist states and for inciting some citizens of these states against the socialist order. This practice in the interpretation of the problem of human rights is foreign to the spirit of international collaboration, the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the sovereignty and independence of all states.

More than ever the problems of human rights should be oriented toward solution of some priority problems vitally affecting and threatening the human condition today, to include effective measures of international collaboration to eliminate the state of underdevelopment in which many peoples still live (a flagrant violation of basic human rights), to effect disarmament and the

liberation of mankind from the nightmare of military conflagrations, and to concentrate people's creative energies on securing peaceful coexistence and a better and more just world. Eradication of the policy of force and dictation and inequality among states, fascism, racism and neocolonialism is a basic political and humanitarian imperative for the whole international community, and all states of the world are called to collaborate in its implementation.

In this connection, Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out the necessity of uniform interpretation and application of the documents signed at Helsinki, in their letter and spirit, and of action in good faith to carry out the accepted decisions in practice. The Romanian president has advocated intensified international collaboration in solving the basic problems of peace and cooperation on the continent, the approach to the entire problem of human rights in the context of the measures to intensify the process of detente and to accomplish cooperation among states with different social systems, and creation of new relations based upon confidence among the continental states that will guarantee the exchange of material and cultural values as well as expanded and diversified programs for collaboration in all fields.

At the same time Romania feels that the problems of human rights and freedoms directly depend upon the profound changes that are taking place in the world today and the progress of the progressive and revolutionary forces in the world that are acting for peace, national independence and radical social reforms on behalf of the working masses and against the policy of domination and dictation and the attempts to apportion areas and spheres of influence. Promotion and observance of human rights are closely bound up with the cause of peace, disarmament, and free development of the peoples, with the idea of eliminating any manifestations of force or threat of force in international affairs, with peaceful settlement by negotiation of any conflicts threatening life and good coexistence among states, and with promotion of new, democratic standards of international conduct that will secure the independence, sovereignty and equality of all states.

Promotion of consistent socialist democratism and revolutionary humanism, whereby man is actually the highest value, has been made a state policy in Romania. Observing and guaranteeing civil rights and freedoms and their expansion on the national level and promoting the true values that exalt and lend greatness to man's creative power, our party and state are militating on the international level for observance of all peoples' right to a free and independent existence, to progress and prosperity, and to peace and happiness.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Joint Plenum of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, 4-5 July 1979," Bucharest Political Publishing House, 1979, p 24.

2. Ibidem, p 26.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Congress of County People's Councils and Chairmen of Municipal, City and Communal People's Councils, 4 February 1976," in "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 12, Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 419-420.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Meeting of Main Party and State Activists, 3 August 1978," Bucharest, Political Publishing House, 1978 p 46.

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CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

INCIDENCE OF SYPHILIS, GONORRHEA IN ARMED FORCES

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, 1979
pp 259-267

[Article by Maj Gen Dr Alexandru G. Popescu, Merited Physician,
corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences]

[Text] The recrudesence of syphilis and gonorrhea noticed in Europe and North America, beginning in 1960, was followed by a similar process in Romania and in the army, beginning in 1965 and respectively in 1967. In Romania recent syphilis morbidity went up in 1971 by 247% as compared to 1965 (the year when the recrudesence began) and in 1978, it exceeded the initial level by only 56%.

In the army, the rate of recent syphilis morbidity -- lower than that in the civilian area for the corresponding age group-- increased 66% as compared to 1967, while in 1978, it decreased 52% below the initial level. The army statistics is 22% higher as a result of the cases detected at drafting (12.5% with florid syphilis and 9.5% with recent latent seropositive syphilis). The army men who are active in the economy and isolated detachments account for a "critical group" and they provide 28.5% of the cases. During the 1975-1978 period detection of the disease involved: seronegative primary syphilis, 14.1%; seropositive primary syphilis, 39.2%; florid secondary syphilis, 27.8%; recent seropositive latent syphilis, 18.6%.

Gonorrhea morbidity in Romania ranged from 129.5% ooo in 1970 to 103.1% ooo in 1978 with a maximum of 177.6% ooo in 1974. In the army, surveyors noticed the same trend, but a somewhat better situation in the last 2 years (98.9% and 81.2% versus 1970, while countrywide morbidity reached 108.9% and 87% respectively). The prevalence (44.1%) of gonorrhea in servicemen who are employed in the economy is significant.

Recommendations involve strictness in reporting the cases and completing the epidemiological investigation, closer cooperation with specialized bodies of the Ministry of Health, a greater level of active detections, use of prophylactic measures focused on critical groups, and more intensive antivenereal health education.

The study of syphilis and gonorrhea morbidity is one of the very relevant matters which is of interest not only to dermatovenereologists but also to all physicians who are involved in ensuring the health of our army men. As will be shown below, the sexually transmitted diseases (STD), which have been recrudescing in the last decade, in very many countries, including Romania, pose extremely sensitive epidemiological, preventive, and combating problems which not only are decisive factors of the patients' health and future but which also have serious socioeconomic ramifications. We feel that it is relevant to examine the morbidity and epidemiology of these diseases in the army and the progress of prevention and combating, to report the technical medical headway made in this field, and subsequently to try to outline the prophylactic methods which are most effective and appropriate for the life of army men in peacetime and during campaigns.

Moreover, in terms of STD, more than in any other field of military medicine, prevention and control must blend with the program conducted on a countrywide scale and coordinate with this program under multidisciplinary cooperation. This must be based on the statement of the late general Prof Dr Longhin who maintained that "venereal diseases are not contracted in the barracks" and, we should add, their sequels do not stop at barracks' doors.

In order for us to better assess the importance of the problem it will be stressed that it was the topic of the 28th General Meeting of WHO held in Geneva in 1975. It was at this meeting that the term of STD, which had been suggested by a group of experts at Copenhagen in 1971, was confirmed. By adopting this designation an attempt was made to point out the significance of the impact of greater prevalence of minor STD (trichomoniasis, genital candidiasis, genital herpes, viral papilloma and urethritis, and so forth) concurrently with recrudescing major STD (syphilis and gonorrhea). Speakers at the same meeting pointed out that the recrudescence of major STD and the higher incidence of minor STD are not due to inadequate medical technical facilities but to social and behavioral factors which go beyond the duties and capabilities of health workers.

The following passages will only focus on recent syphilis and gonorrhea because for the time being they form the major object

of prevention and control on a world and countrywide scale and implicitly in our army. The same as WHO and the Ministry of Health in this country, the Medical Directorate only has statistical figures pertaining to these two diseases. In regard to statistical data published by WHO we must point out that experts of this international body emphasize that the figures reported by each country not always are actual and their value only involves the fact that they reflect the overall evolutive trend in time concerning the above-mentioned diseases. For instance, in a survey conducted by the French Ministry of Health found that only one case in every five cases of syphilis and one case in every 86 cases of gonorrhea are reported. The statistical figures reported by the Romanian Ministry of Health to WHO and those of the Medical Directorate under the Ministry of National Defense are real because in our country the rate in reporting the cases is close to 100%.

No matter how relative the statistical figures in the WHO chart on the evolution of recent syphilis morbidity in the 1950-1974 period may be, it turns out that the major successes obtained in combating this disease continued until 1960, the year in which in a number of countries the incidence of the disease dropped under 10/00000. In the 7th decade the situation deteriorated progressively so that in most countries morbidity exceeded the level for 1960 (Table I). We must point out the almost epidemic recrudescence that occurred in Poland (46.6 cases for every 100,000 inhabitants in 1970). During the 1970-1974 period syphilis incidence continued to increase in a number of countries, Romania included, and to decrease in other countries (Belgium, Poland and Ireland). It is significant that in Western countries 10.6% of cases appeared in adolescents aged between 15 and 19 (7.3% in men and 16.1% in women). The same deficient and precocious sexual behavior is noted in youngsters in our country. In 1971, 16% of patients with recent syphilis were under 20 years of age and in 1977, 14.1%.

In regard to syphilis morbidity in our country we shall use the data published by the Ministry of Health and those provided by Pavel Vulcan in the 1978 report of the Dermatovenereological Center. These documents reflect the success obtained in combating this disease. While in 1950 the morbidity rate for all forms of syphilis was 842‰ 000, in 1958 it reached 63.3‰ 000 and this year there were only 927 cases of recent syphilis, that is 3.7‰ 000 (Figure 1). During the 1958-1964 period, the incidence of this type of syphilis ranged between 3.7 and 4.4‰ 000, in the context of almost complete disappearance of congenital syphilis, tertiary manifestations and "neurosyphilis." In 1965, the first signs of recrudescence of the disease were noted and recent syphilis morbidity reached 8.8‰ 000. In 1971 it reached

Table I. Cases of Recent Syphilis (WHO)

Tabelul I

Cazuri de sifilis recent (O.M.S.)

1) Nr. crt.	2) Tara	3) Cifrele din 1974 la % laja de 1970
4)	1 Islanda	400,0
5)	2 Portugalia	178,2
6)	3 Republica Democrată Germană	165,9
7)	4 Anglia și Țara Galilor	150,0
8)	5 Finlanda	148,3
9)	6 Danemarca	147,4
10)	7 Bulgaria	134,3
11)	8 Norvegia	124,8
12)	9 Suedia	116,1
13)	10 România	111,8
14)	11 Cehoslovacia	100,5
15)	12 Belgia	79,9
16)	13 Polonia	43,8
17)	14 Irlanda	44,3

Key:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Current number | 10. Bulgaria |
| 2. Country | 11. Norway |
| 3. 1974 figures % versus 1970 | 12. Sweden |
| 4. Iceland | 13. Romania |
| 5. Portugal | 14. Czechoslovakia |
| 6. German Democratic Republic | 15. Belgium |
| 7. England and Wales | 16. Poland |
| 8. Finland | 17. Ireland |
| 9. Denmark | |

the maximum level of 30% ooo. Subsequently, thanks to intensified prevention and control programs, morbidity has been continuously decreasing. It was 13.6% ooo in 1977 and 12.7% ooo in 1978. It must be pointed out that in Bucharest Municipality and in a number of heavily industrialized counties (Iasi, Neamt, Galati, Constanta, and so on), morbidity is above the country-wide level. For instance, in Bucharest, recent syphilis morbidity, which in 1954 was 28% ooo, in 1971 reached 141.2% ooo,

and in 1977 decreased to 37.3‰ 000, a figure which exceeds the maximum average level on a countrywide scale. In the 1971-1977 period, Bucharest Municipality plus 6-12 counties which exceeded the countrywide average morbidity rate accounted for 53.25-68.95% of all cases of recent syphilis throughout the Romanian territory. We do not endorse Touraine's theory, according to which syphilis endemic has a cyclic evolution. The recrudescence of syphilis during the 1965-1978 period is due to epidemiological factors which can easily be demonstrated by figures:

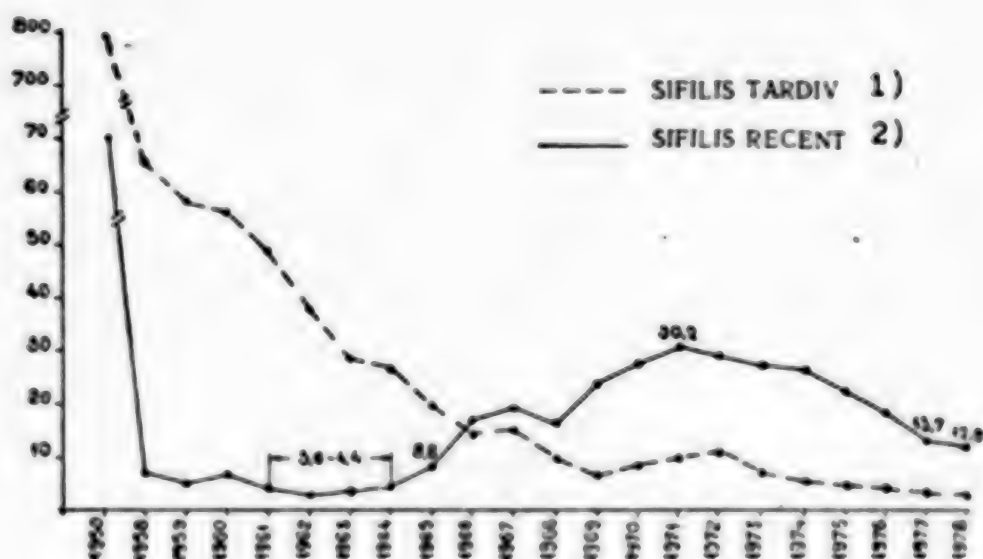


Figure 1. Evolution of Syphilis Morbidity in the Socialist Republic of Romania

Key:

1. Tardive syphilis
2. Recent syphilis

a. Uneven territorial distribution of morbidity rates with high levels in big cities and greatly expanding industrial centers. This is accounted for by the great turnover in population, with breakaway from family life, a factor which encourages random sexual relations and concentration in these areas of individuals who lead a parasitic life;

b. Loosened mores among the youth result in their having a different sexual behavior, based on the existentialist concept of free relationships. In 1971, 16% of cases involved young people under 20 years of age and in 1977, 14.1%;

c. More or less disguised prostitution; women with or without a job, who lead a frivolous life, tactfully called "women with licentious ways," provide, as indicated by epidemiological surveys, the major source of infection for the fanciers of random sexual relations and for all youngsters who by their conduct push freedom up to irresponsibility;

d. The general public has lost the sense of venereal risk as a result of health education articles that too frequently placed the emphasis on regression of syphilis and venereal diseases and on the easy and effective aspects of the treatment. It would be much more correct if emphasis were placed on the possible recrudescence of these diseases, on their risks to the individual, family, and society, and on the need for early and intensive treatment under qualified medical supervision;

e. Even physicians, some belonging to the disciplines which are involved in combating STD, are not conversant with the diagnostic and current treatment of this disease;

f. A number of jobs are more exposed to morbidity, as a result of the temptations involved in the conditions pointed out above. Contracting of syphilis is prevalent (at a level which is higher than the average) in some workers in transportation (drivers for out-of-town trips and taxicabs and airplane pilots), in construction (occupants of hostels for single people and commuters), in the catering sector, people employed in hotels, tourist sector and so forth.

The figures which are available seem to indicate that in our army the status on recent syphilis morbidity is unexpectedly good. If we take the year 1967--when the recrudescence of the disease among servicemen began--as a basis, we find that until 1970, included, morbidity remained under this figure, exceeded it during the 1971-1974 period (with a maximum of 166% in 1972) and started declining down to 45 and respectively 48% in 1977 and 1978 (Figure 2). Among permanent staff, the highest rate of morbidity (62.9%) is found in non-commissioned officers and military foremen. For men in the service, 2nd.5% of cases appeared in units that are active in the economy, a fact which indicates that in these units the armymen are not adequately supervised by petty officers and that medical facilities did not focus enough on preventing morbidity. Based on these statistical figures we may state that the units in the economy represent "critical groups" which are liable to form the object of "targeted" antiepidemic programs.

We must point out that a great many of servicemen who are responsible for the high statistical figures in the army contract

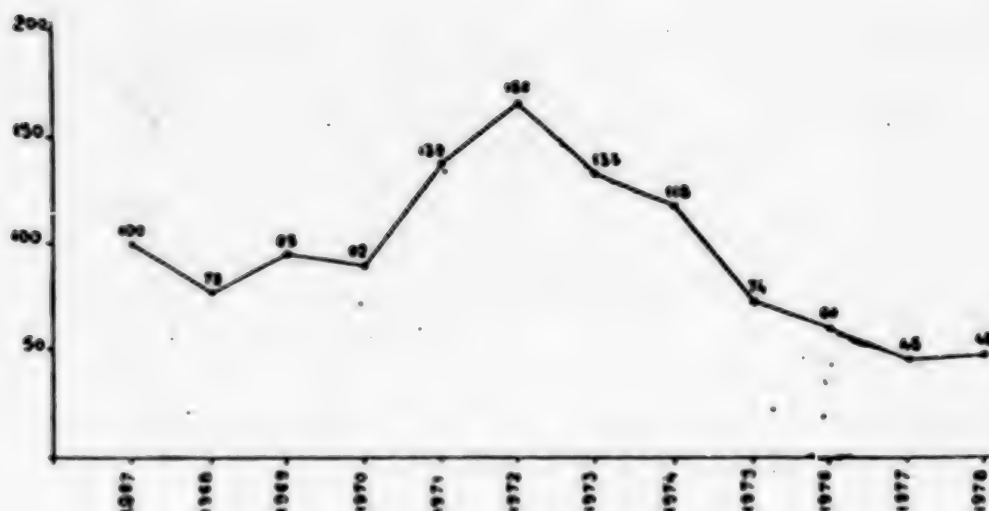


Fig. 2. Evoluția sifilisului recent (procentual).

Revista sanitară militară, 1979, nr. 3

Figure 2. Evolution of Recent Syphilis (Percentage)

the disease before drafting (about 22%), and are detected with florid syphilis on the first medical examination (12.5%) or with latent seropositive recent syphilis (9.5%) during the mass serological examinations which occur during the first months in the army.

Another factor of the high recent syphilis morbidity in the army involves the microepidemics noticed during the years in isolated units and detachments, which are inadequately supervised in terms of discipline and medical facilities. In almost all cases the reservoir involved nymphomaniacs that gravitated toward the units. The case which was most illustrative because of its disastrous consequences was the one involving Mariana M., aged 14½ years, who during the the 13 August-7 September 1976 period had 41 contacts. Sixteen of them (39%) contracted the disease and the remainder were treated preventively. As a negative aspect for the physicians of the units involved we point out that 14 patients were spotted passive and only two, active.

In regard to the stage in which the disease was tracked down, on a group of 354 patients surveyed during the 1975-1978 period at the Central Military Hospital, the following rates were determined: seronegative primary syphilis 17.1%, seropositive primary syphilis 39.2%, florid secondary syphilis 27.8%, seropositive recent latent syphilis 18.6%. Although these figures

are superior to those published by the Ministry of Health in 1977 and 1978 we are not satisfied because they show that more than 50% of the cases are spotted passive, in stages of the disease which require longer treatment and involve slimmer chances of cure.

Moreover, there must be an improvement in the procedure of reporting the cases and conduct of the epidemiological investigation and the posttherapeutical follow-up of patients; the clear instructions transmitted in this area must be strictly carried out. The completion of the epidemiological investigation under direct cooperation with the Dermatovenereological Center of the Ministry of Health, as done at the Central Military Hospital, concretizes the idea of integration pointed out at the beginning of this article and is expeditious and effective. Furthermore, the hospital keeps files which permit posttherapeutical follow-up of patients. However, there are military hospitals on the territory in which reporting of the florid syphilis cases and expeditiousness and efficiency of the epidemiological investigation must be constant concerns of the chiefs of dermatovenereological sections.

All over the world gonorrhea morbidity is alarmingly on the increase and this trend is reflected in the evolution of incidence per 100,000 inhabitants. The absolute number of cases reported by every country is telling only to the extent to which notification of the cases is correct and concrete. But more illustrative are the partial studies on the incidence of these diseases for various age groups. For instance, in 1973, in the United Kingdom, gonorrhea incidence was 751 for every 100,000 men and 451 for every 100,000 women aged between 20-24; in Sweden, 1,724 and 1,528 respectively, and in the United States, 2,479 for men and 1,406 for women. In the United States, the actual figures are estimated double or triple because of inadequate notifications. In 1970, for the 20-24 age group, in the U.S., a country with the highest morbidity, gonorrhea incidence was: 1,013 for every 100,000 white men and 14,061 for colored men; for white women this index was 385, versus 3,404 for colored women. This enormous difference is partly explained by the better notification among black people who resort to free public services.

In Romania, gonorrhea morbidity varied between 129.5‰ in 1970 and 103.1‰ in 1978, with a maximum of 177.6‰ in 1974. These figures are very close to reality, since all the cases involving free treatment are recorded.

The statistical data kept by the Medical Directorate -- which, likewise, are real due to the servicemen's great accessibility to medical assistance in the army -- indicate similar trends.

The percentages of the cases recorded in 1974, 1977 and 1978, versus 1970 (Table III) are largely comparable, with the situation being somewhat better in the army in the last 2 years (98.9 and 81.2% compared to 108.9 and 87% at the Ministry of Health.

Table III. Gonorrhea (Comparative Morbidity)

Tabelul III

Gonoree (morbiditate comparativă)							
			1) Anul				
			1970	1972	1974	1977	1978
2)	Ministerul Sănătății	% față de 1970 3) ‰	100,0 129,5	— —	137,4 177,6	108,9 130,2	87,0 103,1
4)	M. Ap. N.	% față de 1970 5)	100,0	176,3	139,5	98,9	81,2

Key:

1. Year
2. Ministry of Health
3. % versus 1970
4. Ministry of National Defense
5. % versus 1970

The survey of a sample of servicemen and permanent staff who were treated in specialized units of Bucharest during the 1975-1978 period indicated the following grouping: officers-- 9.6%, non-commissioned officers -- 14.9%, students -- 1.3%, soldiers -- 67.5%, civilian workers -- 4%, servicemen's wives -- 2.5%. This indicates that the critical groups involve servicemen and noncommissioned officers, that morbidity is very low among students, and that marital contagion also is low (2.5%), with the great majority of patients involving unmarried people.

In regard to epidemiological factors, we notice the same high prevalence among servicemen belonging to productive units in the economy. In the group surveyed, 44.1% of all servicemen with gonorrhea belong to these units. The remaining epidemiological factors are identical with those for syphilis.

We notice that in conducting the epidemiological investigation the deficiencies are greater than those in the case of syphilis. The rate of unknown sources is higher and its efficiency is lower because of the short incubation period and of the rapid and effective (epidemiological) treatment, which does not permit a continuous link between investigator and patient.

All this clearly shows that syphilis and gonorrhea morbidity in the army has evolutive trends which are identical to those among the civilian population. Recrudescence in the army is preceded 1-2 years by the one in the civilian environment. Although the army men, by their ages, represent a critical group in terms of epidemiological factors, morbidity for these two diseases is lower in the army and the antiepidemic results in the last 2 years are more evident. In our view, even better results could be obtained if the following recommendations were taken into consideration:

- a. Reporting of each case of syphilis and systematic completion of a prompt and effective epidemiological investigation, in both syphilis and gonorrhea cases;
- b. Closer link with the specialized bodies of the Ministry of Health in each garrison, for estimation of the epidemiological situation and joint detection of reservoirs and contacts;
- c. Increase in rate of active detections by better organization of systematic medical supervision in units;
- d. Application of prophylactic measures focusing on critical groups: recruits at drafting, servicemen in production units and isolated detachments, drivers, messengers, and so on;
- e. Use of effective treatment charts, at a rapid and simultaneous rate, for patients and contacts, for the purpose of sterilizing the sites (epidemiological treatment) and preserve the future of the diseased individuals;
- f. Intensified activity of sexual and antivenereal education in all schools and military units, and especially in the critical groups indicated.

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CSO: 5400

MESSAGE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA TO RCP CONGRESS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 2 Dec 79 p 2

[Message by Armando Hart Davalos, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, submitted to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party]

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; Comrade Delegates:

We are the bearers of a fraternal message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, a message which we also extend to all the communists and the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The history of the Romanian Communist Party in its 58 years of existence contains pages of extraordinary dedication and heroism written by its rank-and-file members and cadres who throughout the long years of underground activities waged a resistance struggle, organized and led the national insurrection against Hitler's forces and the fascist military dictatorship and, once victory was scored, went on to begin the task of building socialism.

On August 23 our people had the opportunity to celebrate together with our Romanian comrades the 35th anniversary of Romania's liberation and to recall the achievements of the people and workers of Romania under the leadership of their Communist Party in these years of profound economic and social transformations and the development of a new life.

The report submitted to this, your 12th Congress, by the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and its rundown on the achievements scored in these years, constitutes a clear indication of the progress made and of the outlook for economic and social development in your beautiful country in the immediate future.

The draft directive of the 12th Congress of the RCP for Romania's socio-economic development in the next five years envisages ambitious plans of

great importance for the life of the country such as an increase in economic efficiency, an increase in national income, a boost to housing construction and the continuation of the policy of industrialization, all of which will contribute to the continued improvement of the workers' well-being, which constitutes an essential objective of socialism.

The liberation of Romania 35 years ago and the triumph of the Cuban Revolution 20 years ago made it possible for our peoples to meet on the common road of socialist construction.

The Communist Party of Cuba views with satisfaction the relations of friendship that exist between our peoples. Parties and governments and the establishment of the foundations for collaboration in the various fields of the economy, science and culture, a collaboration that is bound to be beneficial to our two countries and in the interests of socialism. The visits of Comrades Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, to Romania and Cuba, respectively, stand out among Cuban-Romanian relations. We hope that the bonds of friendship and cooperation that have been developed along these years will be further strengthened and developed.

Esteemed comrades, at a time when the Romanian Communists are holding their 12th Congress, humanity is living in an era especially significant, characterized by the socialist community's growing advance and power in every field and by major victories in the peoples' struggle for national liberation; an era in which more and more countries are embarking on the road to socialism and reaffirming their right to independence and freedom.

The task of strengthening the process of detente and advancing toward disarmament, promoted and defended by the socialist countries and democratic and progressive countries the world over, has forged ahead in these years in spite of the constant obstacles and the growing threats of imperialist reaction and the forces that try to revert the world to the days of the cold war and the constant danger of another war.

An example of this is found in the stubborn resistance being made by the most reactionary sectors represented in the U.S. Congress against the ratification of SALT II, which, without a doubt, is a step forward in the difficult road towards peace.

However, in spite of the peoples of the world's manifest desire to live in peace, the ideal of the complete disappearance of nuclear arms and an end to the arms race still seems to be far off. The dirty business of arms of destruction--typical of imperialism--imposes, with its powerful resources, new systems of weapons capable of mass destruction. Suffice it to recall that the U.S. budget for military expenditures this fiscal year will reach an astronomical figure of nearly 140,000 million dollars--practically one fourth of the national budget--while the U.S. urges its NATO allies and others to increase their military expenditures.

Socialism, which by its very nature does not have to resort to this production of arms in order to either artificially stimulate its economy or to appropriate other peoples' resources, has been the promoter of multiple initiatives designed to lessen the danger of war and to create the effective bases for disarmament. This firm policy of peace, based on the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, meets with the approval and respect of peoples the world over.

In his recent speech before the UN General Assembly where he spoke as chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and set forth the guidelines of the 6th Summit, Comrade Fidel Castro clearly warned about the dangers that threaten the future of human-kind and made precise proposals aimed at finding urgent solutions to the serious economic problems that afflict the countries of the so-called Third World, proposals necessary for achieving a true climate of peace.

It was at this occasion that Fidel said: "The time has therefore come for all of us to join in the task of pulling entire peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings, out of the backwardness, poverty, malnutrition, illness and illiteracy that keep them from having full human dignity and pride."

In another part of his speech, he said: "Enough of words! We need deeds. Enough of abstractions! We need concrete action. Enough of speaking about a speculative new international economic order which nobody understands! We must speak about a real, objective order which everybody understands." And he concluded by saying: "...I have come to warn that, if we do not eliminate our present injustices and inequalities peacefully and wisely, the future will be apocalyptic."

Nothing can be farther from the interests of socialism and humankind than the Chinese leaders' adherence to the unrestricted arms race fostered by NATO and its cohorts and their support for the campaign orchestrated by the imperialists concerning the so-called "Soviet military threat." Under the mantle of what they call the inevitability of a new war, they are trying to provoke a worldwide conflict from which, with absolute cynicism, they hope to emerge as the main beneficiaries.

Comrades, the past few years have witnessed beautiful victories of the peoples. The victim of the most unmerciful exploitation on the part of the colonial powers and imperialism, Africa is today an important battleground where the forces of national liberation, progress and socialism are fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and reaction.

In Asia, the Vietnamese people's historic victory, their heroism vis-a-vis yesterday's and today's aggressions, are an exemplary lesson for the whole of humankind that commands the greatest solidarity with this noble people. That victory, together with the Lao people's triumph, the Revolution in Afghanistan and the overthrow of the bloody clique that oppressed the

suffering Kampuchean people, are signs of new times in that continent, in spite of the serious obstacle that the Chinese leadership's aggressive and expansionist policy represents.

In Latin America, the Nicaraguan people led by their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, have been the protagonists of an instructive victory against one of the bloodiest tyrannies in the history of the Americas. The broad solidarity given to Nicaragua during its liberation struggle to counter the interventionist machinations of U.S. imperialism should now be channeled into assisting the country's reconstruction.

The Sandinista victory, as well as the revolutionary triumph in tiny Grenada and the progress made by the democratic and progressive forces in Latin America and the Caribbean, point to an increase in the struggle for true independence and against the policy of domination and intervention that U.S. imperialism--under different forms but with the same intention--carries out in this continent.

These victories do not render helpless the forces of reaction headed by U.S. imperialism. Not since the times of the cold war have we witnessed such a level of military activity directed against the legitimate rights of the peoples: a "quick reaction force" was set up for the Middle East; an intervention force was created for the Caribbean; the empire's military presence was strengthened in the Indian Ocean. Simultaneously, imperialism resorts to maneuvers of every sort aimed at undermining the people's struggle, and sponsors accords like the Camp David Agreement that betray the Arab cause. And, although with less publicity but in a permanent fashion, the instruments of economic domination are naturally reinforced by means of the transnational corporations and the control exercised over the international credit agencies. None of this, however, will succeed in defeating or neutralizing the peoples' resistance, nor the resistance of those now struggling for their liberation: the heroic Palestinians, the Saharans, the patriots of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe; those fighting against the bloody dictatorships in the Americas or those fighting for Puerto Rico's independence. And neither will they succeed in neutralizing the growing clamor coming from the great bulk of humankind belonging to the so-called Third World that are demanding their right to lead a decent life.

Comrades, on its 20th anniversary the Cuban Revolution takes pride in claiming that human dignity is now an accomplished fact in today's Cuba, free forever from unemployment, illiteracy, racial discrimination, begging, prostitution, gambling and other evils inherited from centuries of colonial and neocolonial domination.

The Cuban people, the absolute owners of their country's wealth, have over the past 20 years waged a relentless struggle to eradicate the heritage of

economic backwardness, poverty and lack of culture left in the wake of foreign domination and have undertaken the construction of a new society in spite of U.S. imperialism's constant aggressions, including military actions, economic sabotage, provocations of every nature, assassination plots against our leaders and an arbitrary and criminal blockade now going into its 20th year.

The unity of our people around their vanguard and leader Fidel Castro, and the unswerving international solidarity offered by the socialist countries and in particular, by the beloved Soviet Union, whose timely, fraternal and multifaceted assistance has remained engraved in our people's minds as an everlasting example of proletarian internationalism, succeeded in defeating all attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution. Today the Cuban Revolution stands fully consolidated before the world, fully identified with the ideals of the Great October Revolution and solidly united with all those struggling for their national liberation, independence, progress, peace and socialism. This is why our people are being brought up to respect the principles of internationalism and solidarity and to carry out, with modesty and revolutionary enthusiasm, their internationalist duties.

Dear comrades, allow us to express our gratitude for having had the opportunity of attending this 12th Congress that will certainly have far-reaching importance for the life of your people in the coming years, and for the warm welcome given to our delegation.

We reiterate our desire and readiness to continue strengthening the fraternal bonds that exist between the peoples, Parties and Governments of Cuba and Romania, based on the noble ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

We wish you many successes in the work of your Congress and the subsequent fulfillment of its resolutions and accords.

Long live the friendship between the peoples and Communists of Cuba and Romania!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--Inasmuch as one of the positions of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Trandafir is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Ialomita County. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 100, 18 Dec 79 p 4]

CSO: 2700

ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT DISCUSSES HIS BOOK CRITICAL OF UDBA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo Croatian 3 Nov 79 pp 22-23

[Interview with Sinan Hasani Vice President of the SFRY Assembly, by Salih Zuizdic]

[Excerpts] The novel "Hrast i vjetar" [Oak and Wind], on which a movie and a television series (which was completed last week) were based, was written by Sinan Hasani, vice president of the Assembly of the SFRY. We are sitting in his study in Belgrade and over coffee are talking about this novel and a certain time in Kosovo which permeates this literary work. Hasani, who speaks softly and who with his unobtrusiveness and modesty wins his interlocutor, was born 57 years ago in the village of Pozarenje near Kosovska Vitina. Before the war he completed the Gaziisabeg Moslem secondary school in Skopje, and during the first days of the war he held various political duties, such as secretary of the opstina committee in Gnjlani, director of the Rilindja publishing house, vice president of the Serbian Assembly, Yugoslav ambassador in Denmark, and his present duty. Although he lives with his wife in Belgrade, he spends more time in Kosovo than in the capital. He has two university educated children, who both work at the State Security Administration of the SFRY, i.e. Serbia. Last year he recieved for his literary work the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] Award, and in 1961 he received the "December Award" for literature in Kosovo.

[Question] You started to write the novel "Hrast i vjetar" in 1967 as a story for the Kosovo magazine "Jeta e re" [New Life]. Could you tell us a little more about how this happened?

[Answer] The fourth Brioni Plenum, which was held in 1966, and which I personally, as well as the entire country, experienced with joy and a feeling of strengthening of faith in the future of our community, prompted me at the end of that year to start to systematize the events in Kosovo from the Liberation until this Plenum, to do the groundwork for a novel. I was just settling these things in Belgrade when my comrades from "Jeta e re" proposed to me to write for them a story on post war times and plenum days. This was the origin of the future novel "Hrast i vjetar."

[Question] You begin the novel with the return of the partisan soldier Lis to the post war period of building the country.

[Answer] Yes, everything begins with Lis, and everything ends with him. This soldier, whose real name is Ramo, and whose partisan name is Lis, which means oak, is being beaten from all sides by the winds of the post war times. A real picture of a time and a space is formed around Lis, from settling accounts with the remnants of the counter-revolution to self-management. Here we find ransoms, forced mobilization of people into the collective farms, the Kominform, the mysterious activity of the influence State Security Administration. In that milieu at that time, under the influence of the centralist forces, some nationalities were emerging as superior, and others were treated by some people as unreliable and less worthy. Let me mention here that famous action of collecting [confiscating] weapons and removing Albanian flags, and also of expelling large groups of people [and sending them] to Turkey, and elsewhere, the lack of confidence in the national [Albanian] culture because of the language and because of the use of books in the main [Serbo-Croatian] language, since there were no books in the Albanian language. One can understand then what the Brioni Plenum meant in such a situation in Kosovo!

[Question] Did anybody before you try to write in a literary form about these problems in Kosovo?

[Answer] I think that nobody did it in Kosovo. I don't know if I am right, but I don't think that anybody wrote in a similar way in other large areas of Yugoslavia where there were similar problems.

[Question] Did you expect during the writing of the book the possibility that somebody would criticize you for it?

[Answer] I did not have that feeling while I was writing it, but I did later think about it.

[Question] What did you think about it?

[Answer] I completed the book in 1970 and I delivered it to the Rilindja publishing house. During that time I lived in Belgrade and worked as a vice-president of the Serbian Assembly. Toward the end of 1970 I received from Rilindja a signed agreement that the book was accepted and that it would be published in 1971. In 1971 I went as ambassador of the SFRY to Denmark, where I waited impatiently for the book to be published. But, the book was neither published that year, nor during the 3 following years. In 1974, upset because of it, I wrote to Rilindja to send me back the manuscript, because I thought that probably there were some changes in the opinion on the book. But they answered me by saying that everything was okay, that there were some problems with the proofreading, but that the book would be published this year. And it was published that year.

[Question] Did you later inquire about the "problems with the proofreading?" Didn't maybe someone ask you to "formulate better" some ideas in the book?

[Answer] Of course, I was interested in what happened, although I knew that it did not have anything to do with the proofreading. I found out that they weighed the book from all sides, until the dilemma whether "to publish or not to publish" was definitely resolved. Otherwise, nobody asked me to correct parts of the book, nor would I have done it had I been asked to do it.

[Question] Did you consider in Denmark the possibility that the book might not be published?

[Answer] No. I believed that the book would be published, but I also expected the possibility that, because of the situation at the time the book was supposed to be published, there would also be an uproar about the content. I did not invent anything, I did not look for something "black," but I described ordinary life. My hero Lis, a poor man from the people, a soldier without education, who was educated by the Revolution, remains consistent in his struggle for true brotherhood and unity, regardless of the fact that the organs of the State Security are following him and hindering his work and regardless of the fact that the bureaucrats throw obstacles in his way and meddle in his private life.

[Question] Do you have any information as to how the book and the television series, which could also be seen in some parts of Albania, were received in this neighboring country?

[Answer] I am sure that the book did not reach Albania, because, although there is some cultural cooperation between Kosovo and Albania, nevertheless, every publication is selected. Some acquaintances told me that during the showing of the TV series three Albanian linguists, who were studying some characteristics of the Albanian folk language, were visiting Pec. Hearing about the series they asked if they could also watch it? Of course, our people made it possible for them to watch it. Afterwards they could not get over the fact that something like this could be shown in Yugoslavia, and that nobody prohibited it. They asked whether this was shown only in Kosovo. Our people replied that all the Yugoslav TV studios were showing this, but they did not believe it. I can understand this official Albanian approach to these series and to the book. The messages full of anti-dogmatism, or situation filled with the struggle against centralism and other "isms" do not suit them, since they explain many things in a different way.

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PROFESSORS NOTE SERIOUS INEQUITIES IN SOCIAL SYSTEM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 79 pp 26-27

[Interview with Dr Ivan Siber and Dr Josip Zupanov, professors at the School of Political Science of Zagreb University: "The Privatized Socialism of Homo Duplex"; date not given]

[Text] There are many reasons for a discussion of the value system of socialist self-management and of our society in general, for a discussion of what kind of people we are, how we behave, what kind of work we are doing, what we value, and what we believe in. Without such a discussion, after all, one that is free of highfalutin phraseology and the emptiness of the formal address and conference presentation, it is hardly possible to take note of the numerous open questions, contradictions and even departures concerning certain elements and principles on which we are building our life as a community. Meanwhile a double moral standard, a gap between the real and the proclaimed, reflections concerning people who are less important and people who are more important, affairs which are more important, and, we might even say, the road to socialism which is easier and that which is harder, are only a part of that mosaic, but they provide a good occasion for asking where we are and what we should do? Not without reason, we are cautioned by the first subjects of our interviews, Ivan Siber and Josip Zupanov, professors at the School of Political Science in Zagreb, does a discussion of this topic tend to get snagged on another question: What purpose can it serve? Perhaps it truly will be difficult to dissuade those who will respond to an appeal for a discussion of shortcomings in our understanding of socialist ethics with arguments about the possible damage that might come from a tug-of-war over this issue. However, it is a fact of greater weight that a newspaper must not remain a reflection of social reality on paper, but should be an active

participant and driving force. Why then evade and fear discussion of the childhood diseases which our self-management socialism and our society as a whole are--of this there should be no doubt--overcoming?

Question: Man is the measure of all things, and it would therefore seem fully justified to begin our discussion of our society's value system with the question of man's moral makeup in this society.

Zupanov: One is first struck by the contradictory nature of that makeup. On the basis of everyday experience it seems to me that the predominant value orientation in the individual as such is toward his own enrichment, toward raising his standard of living and consumption, which also signifies acceptance of the criteria of monetary evaluation, possession, acquisition, and so on, as measures of personal status and success in society. Yet when it is a question of community life, this same man is at the same time a great fighter for social equality and equal rights, he is a great egalitarian, he is an advocate of equal status, equal opportunities, and equal possibilities. And here is the contradiction, since if he wants to acquire and possess, then what he possesses must be taken away from other people.

Siber: This complex moral makeup of the individual is a direct reflection of the complex social situation. In our society today we have a conflict situation which consists of the conflict between society's capabilities and its desires, between the social mentality and certain social values. Our society's capabilities are limited by the level of development and the level of acquisition, and, too, we are somewhere near the end of the line in contemporary Europe. However, our desires, especially as consumers, place us at the level of Western Europe. This great gap naturally gives rise to dissatisfaction and at times an excessively critical attitude.

Moreover, in our public life we have a definite system of values requiring the productive forces of a postindustrial society, while a large portion of our productive forces has still not truly entered industrial production. Related to all of this, then, is the existence of a particular social mentality defined by our tradition, by these sometimes tribal and markedly ethnic confrontations of a society which literally has made the transition from peasant life to a high level of development. These are the sources of contemporary man's double standard, this man who strives for personal prosperity, but also for egalitarianism, for equality, since those are the values of this society.

Who Is to Blame for the Division of People Into the Important and the Unimportant?

Question: Isn't this value orientation toward personal prosperity dangerous because it contains the roots of those differences which create a consciousness of less important and more important people, of a lesser and a greater burden on the road to socialism?

Siber: To repeat, in his double set of values the individual reflects the existence of a double standard of values in society. We are sometimes overwhelmed by certain forms of differences in society, but at the same time we recognize as a society income spread between 1:4 and 1:7. Should we now be criticizing only the enrichment of individuals, or should indeed we raise the issue of relations in society which stimulate that kind of behavior...?

Zupanov: However ticklish and delicate the question might be, it still seems to me that development presupposes a certain material and social differentiation, at least at a level of the productive forces such as we have today.

Siber: Yet it would be very interesting to see which are those tasks of society important to society's development and which are not, though they carry with them a privileged social status.

Question: This provokes the question: How do we evaluate human labor? Many critics have spoken of an intonation that some work is more important and some less important and therefore some people are less important and some more important. That is, although publicly we favor worker occupations and the decisive importance of the working class, in reality different documentary films are being used. Direct production has become a bugbear, people flee from it, young people are running from worker occupations.

Zupanov: Work is the medium of value of any contemporary society, including ours, and ability to work should be the principal criterion for assignment of jobs, a certain level of living, status and respect in society, and, of course, a condition for professional and social advancement. Reality, however, is quite a bit different from that. There is not a soul in this society who believes that the ability to work is the criterion for giving out jobs and positions. Just look at the reputation of these competitions for job openings. Then it is a fact that no one has gotten rich through his work. Our rich people acquire money through the work of other people, crooked schemes, graft, and business ventures. It is also a significant fact that certain positions and jobs have always been better paid than others regardless of who does them, which is again evidence that work is not the principal criterion governing distribution. At the same time only certain jobs and occupations enjoy prestige in society--not all, but those which are above the line that marks the difference between productive and nonproductive work. In short, the ability to work is not the measure of success, of social and professional advancement, but its place is taken by certain other criteria: consumption, power, fame and notoriety.

And just a few more remarks. It can be statistically proven that the social position of the working class is economically less favorable than the position of other strata of society. The social status of the worker and of the working class is best illustrated by the fact that it is regarded as a step down to move from a nonproductive to a productive occupation. Further, take the position of the working class in the political system. Political

statistics showed some 10 years ago that workers had vanished from the Federal Assembly and from the republic assemblies, and that there were fewer and fewer of them in opstina assemblies and indeed even in workers' councils. I don't know if these formal indicators have improved any by now....

Siber: Formally!

Administrative Coercion ... Into the Worker Occupations

Zupanov: So what interests me is whether the workers as a social group can do anything to further their interests, to prevent, for example, the enactment of legislation detrimental to them. I feel that in practice there is not very much they can do. After all, which organizations are there for the workers to be active in? To what extent is today's trade union the organization of the workers as a class? Do work collectives provide such an organization, these commodity producers which we have called organizations of associated labor, but which are still enterprises--market entities set against one another on the market? Is it any wonder at this point that people are fleeing from the worker occupations, that children do not want to go to vocational schools? The fact that administrative coercion is today necessary to force people into worker occupations is an indicator of the worker's status and a factor in the further deterioration of that position.

Siber: I think we should not overemphasize certain marginal forms of social deviation such as the question of private enterprise and the high earnings of soccer players and pop singers....

Zupanov: This is a marginal question when compared to the social product and other economic magnitudes, but it ceases to be so when a soccer player receives for one game what a worker earns in 3 or 4 months. It is no longer a question of economic magnitudes, but of the mode of social evaluation and, if you like, of social underestimation of the worker's work.

Siber: We have examples where the workers have voted to set aside funds for a soccer team.

Zupanov: Yes, all the decisions on appropriations are voted on by the workers, and ultimately we find that the workers are not managing the surplus of their product.

Not on the Basis of Merit, But According to Who Your Father and Uncles Were

Question: When we say that the position of the working class in society is less favorable, we are not referring merely to the less favorable material aspect of that position....

Siber: Right, perhaps we should speak rather about status deprivation. Even in the highly advanced countries, where some production occupations have much higher earnings than so-called "white-collar" jobs, but also a

considerably lower social status, the blue-collar workers strive to become office workers, that is, strive for the higher social status.

Zupanov: This is especially true of the worker in places where low earnings are a circumstance aggravating the situation still more....

Question: It is no rarity to hear it said that we frequently depart from the positions and resolutions proclaimed even in the domain of earning and distributing income.

Siber: When it comes to the earning and distribution of income, then we can speak about the influence of the following elements, in precisely the order in which I will give them. The first decisive factor is the question: Where does the person happen to work? For it is not a matter of indifference whether someone is a skilled worker in Nada Dimic and Naprijed [both clothing firms] or INA and Geostrazivanje [petroleum industry and geological explorations--translator's note]. In other words, the conditions for doing business are decisive, and they--this I particularly emphasize--are outside the realm in which the direct producers themselves can exert an influence. We are constantly talking about how the worker should make decisions about the results of his work, but we speak too little about the fact that he should be making decisions about the conditions in which that work is done. The second factor is contained in the question: What does a man do? In this area we have at present that hierarchy of occupational status and prestige that results from certain traditional value systems--a doctor is a doctor, and it is taken for granted. The third factor, only the third unfortunately, is represented by this: How does the person perform the tasks of his job, that is, how well does he work? And so long as the distribution depends primarily on business conditions or on the status of an occupation, and on the quality of work only in third place, the direct producer will be slighted.

So long as we are discussing evaluation of people's work in our society, I would like to emphasize another element, and that is the domination of social space over work space. In other words, it is not so important what work you know how to do and how well you can do it, but who you know and who knows you. This social space, by which I mean connections, friends, family connections, relatives, or "we come from the same district" ... are very important not only to finding jobs and receiving promotions, but also to the earning of income in the broader sense. After all, often the work organization cannot influence its own business performance simply because a decision taken by federal or certain other authorities has basically altered its position. Then the question arises: Is the conduct of business more important, or is it more important that in a particular work organization the manager is able informally on the basis of his social space to have an impact on certain decisions: the foreign exchange system, the tariff system, closing off the local market, obtaining loans, and so on. How is it, for example, that capital investment projects are undertaken without sufficient backing?

Zupanov: At this point we come up against the question of power--the man who can influence a particular decision has a certain power, and his knowingness comes more from his position of power than does his power come from his knowingness.

Siber: But that power does not come from work, but from social space....

Zupanov: I agree. However, I would like to point to still another interesting element. Though man's position is not defined exclusively by work even in the more advanced industrial countries, it still seems that work and the results of work have more importance in evaluation. It often happens with us that the personal abilities of an individual, for example, some inventor, go unnoticed and unutilized, and, of course, unesteemed, which elsewhere cannot occur, because of a selfish interest in profit if for no other reason.

Being a Worker Means Having No Other Choice

Question: In a way what you have said is to some extent an indicator of the social power (or lack of it) of the working class.

Siber: I would emphasize two patterns in this connection. First, that old idea of the Tocqueville's that rebels are those who have nothing to lose. In other words, the working class becomes a revolutionary figure in its own right in a situation of total oppression. Our working class today is not in such a situation by any means. Second, the working class often figures as an organized entity in its own right when only as a class is it able to alter its position, when individual ability to alter social position has been reduced to zero. However, we have done quite a bit to facilitate individual advancement and the individual's change of his own social position.

Zupanov: By and large people have undertaken individual promotion, which accounts for this pursuit of diplomas, this supermassive university enrollment which we are trying to slow down. But what is the real meaning of this race for each individual's private socialism? It seems to me that it comes from the observation that little can actually be done through collective action....

Siber: But there is no need for collective action if the possibility exists for individual action.

Zupanov: I am not sure that individual action can ever completely replace collective action. After all, individual action signifies: just get out of the working class and then you're on your way, while collective action does not signify flight from the working class, but improvement of the position of the entire class.

Siber: Which is exactly what we have been advocating. Though we believe that too little has been done in our society to improve the position of the

working class, quite a bit has still been done, and efforts are being made. Which is precisely why we should not overemphasize the critical note.

Question: Professor Zupanov mentioned the forcing of people into worker occupations by administrative coercion. Does this refer to the current reform of education?

Siber: Exactly, the initial idea of the reform was to try to change the schools from a class standpoint, to put the prestige and conditions for vocational studies on a par with studies for those other occupations....

[Box on p 15, left column]

The reform of education only appears to equalize the prestige and conditions of vocational studies and studies for those other occupations, but actually it signifies a new negative selection of the working class, since those who have no choice are condemned to the worker occupations.

Zupanov: However, this is only the outer cloak which hides beneath it a further deterioration.

Siber: But concealed behind it this idea brings with it something else: a new negative selection of the working class. After all, those who are not for those other occupations drop out of the running on the basis of their grades in the first 2 years of school.

Zupanov: And that means that you go into a blue-collar occupation, you go where people go who have nowhere else to go. Of course, this negative selection will then put a ceiling on both schooling and instruction and whatever else you like.

The Power of Bureaucratic Esperanto Does Not Lie in the Bureaucracy

Question: We are now attempting to discuss certain aspects of socialist morality and our society's value system in a manner and language acceptable to all members of this society. Perhaps I am wrong, but it seems to me that we have a need for such discussions, that some of these issues are difficult to raise and, once they are raised, to speak about in a comprehensible way.

Zupanov: Fadil Hadzic recently used a very apt term: "bureaucratic Esperanto." Just take a look at the language of all these documents of ours, resolutions, legal acts, and I don't know what all else. How can you raise those issues and discuss them in that bureaucratic Esperanto?

Siber: But it is not the bureaucratic Esperanto that is to blame. It is the result of something else....

Zupanov: I know, at this point we come to the question of whose interest is served by that bureaucratic Esperanto, who does it belong to, and immediately thereafter we are forced to the conclusion that this language will automatically close off the opportunity to discuss those topics which are not in the interest of the particular social group which uses that language.

Siber: There is something else I would like to say. During one discussion one of our top leaders began this way: "This is an altogether free discussion, and all thoughts are permitted, even heretical ones." I responded to that with the question: Who is going to judge what is heretical? In other words, we are dealing here with a fact which should be understood, but it should not be justified or concurred in. That is the fact that in a post-revolutionary period, in a bitter struggle for independence, for an independent road of development, for new solutions, and in an historical period that abounds in truly fantastic achievements, the belief, the notion, has become crystallized that our own solutions are the best solutions, that they are beyond all doubt, and that questioning them is in a way tantamount to hostility. In other words, this means that in a certain way a freer mode of discussion is often not tolerated.

I feel that all this can, nevertheless, be said, the question is only why there is no discussion? However, even when I say "it is possible to speak," then this depends on the following: above all, who is saying it? We have said many things here which others could not, but many things which others might say we cannot. It is a question of the prior reputation which the speaker has or lacks. Another essential thing is the way one speaks--there is little difference in the actual words between criticism as such and criticism for the sake of criticism, but there is a great difference in the thoughts that lie behind them. Finally, we should bear in mind that any such discussion is a political discussion and comes under the rules that govern political life in a particular place and time. In other words, there are certain moments in the development of society when something can or cannot be said in a particular way and when during political development a clear judgment and political assessment must be made not only as to whether some discussion is attractive and desirable in itself, but also as to whether it is convenient.

Question: We have spoken about bureaucratic Esperanto and about the purpose it serves, whom it serves, and also about the impossibility of discussing certain issues frankly and straightforwardly in that language....

Siber: There is one clear distinction that needs to be made here. On the one hand we have certain individuals and groups backed up by the authority of a value commitment. I am referring to those who really deserve the credit for our great achievements as a society, about those who entered this revolution and carried it out on the basis of a commitment which did not count on any sort of privileges and at a time when no one gave even a thought to such things. On the other hand, however, some of this prestige seems to rub off on the bureaucratic machine which sprang up and which to a

large degree enjoys privileges without such valuable merit and which at the same time, taking certain public business on itself, assumes an aura of infallibility, inviolability, of being above reproach and so on.

Zupanov: It is that bureaucratic machine which in fact invented bureaucratic Esperanto.

Siber: Right, but I would like to go a step further: it also invented that aura of inviolability of certain political circles, which was then used as a screen to hide behind.

Zupanov: The bureaucracy invented that language, but it was also accepted and sanctioned by those political circles, including those who carried out the revolution. That accounts for the strength of bureaucratic Esperanto. Its power does not lie in bureaucracy itself.

Siber: I know, but the bureaucracy writes the speeches. A politician uses one language when he is reading an address and a different one when he is speaking extemporaneously to his audience.

One, Two, Three and Four Reasons

Question: Let us go back to what Professor Siber said: "that everything can be said," though here again it can depend on who is speaking. Yet I know from my own experience as a newsman that those whose authority is not questioned, that is, those who are able to speak, are reluctant to consent to a frank and straightforward discussion in a language that everyone understands. And this is true even when a public figure's position makes it incumbent upon him to speak publicly and document the positions taken by his organization.

Zupanov: That is understandable, since the first thing they will ask is this: What purpose is served by raising certain issues? And it might also be asked: What harm might be done?

Siber: ... Whis is easier to answer.

Zupanov: And not only that. There is also a practical and pragmatic question: Why accept an unknown quantity for one that is known?

Siber: The problem is that things are not so bad and so black that they would be jeopardized by any particular thoughtless act we might imagine. Then again, I altogether understand why they are reluctant to talk, but why are others also reluctant?

Question: You were not reluctant, but felt that this conversation was normal and necessary....

Zupanov: Well, you see, we are now carrying on an informal discussion.

Siber: That is the first thing. The second thing is that we will consent to what is published.

Zupanov: And the third thing: you are not going to publish what will not pass.

Siber: And fourth: we still enjoy a privileged social position. After all, not only does the university itself defend its traditional status and traditional freedoms, but they are acknowledged by others.

Zupanov: Which comes right back to my opinion that everything can be spoken about in public. To illustrate, we are speaking out now and probably a good portion of this will be published. The problem is that this method of discussion is not accepted as a socially authoritative mode, as a language in which social problems should be expressed.

Siber: There is still another interesting reason why we are able to talk this way. And that is that in our discussion there is no ulterior motive that would question the political orientation and existence of certain ways of resolving social contradictions, but this is a discussion that represents an advocacy of certain problems being overcome still better, more openly and quickly and also of greater commitment of the principal social forces of our society to that task. It is a question, then, of the value of the principal aim behind a man's words, the intention of those words.

[Box on p 15, top]

The bureaucratic machine today enjoys privileges without any merit or justification which it defends by using a language of its own and by creating an aura of infallibility and inviolability of certain political circles in whose shadow it has grown up and behind which it takes shelter.

When Among Wolves, You Must Howl

Question: Again we come back to value commitments and value orientations. I would go back to Professor Zupanov's remark that in addition to the individual's value orientations, there are also certain value orientations of groups, communities, ethnic communities, and so on. At this moment we are particularly interested in the value orientation of the group, for example, the value orientation of an organization of associated labor. After all, the success of efforts made toward stabilization of economic and social developments largely depends on that particular value orientation.

[Box on p 15, bottom]

On the big questions and concerning the big decisions we are all in favor of socialism, but when it comes to specific decisions that impinge upon us ourselves, then we all go our separate ways as fighters for our own socialism, for our own advantage, enrichment, level of living and consumption.

Siber: Now that you have mentioned stabilization and our behavior, it seems to me that the prevailing fact is this: everyone is trying to fit into the stabilization effort without departing from his prior behavior one whit.

Zupanov: In other words, stabilization is a good thing, but only for others.

Siber: Exactly, the result of that behavior in the domain of stabilization policy is reminiscent of the problem of coordinated behavior in which the individual's behavior and result depend on the behavior and result of another individual. Put in the terms of stabilization policy, it looks something like this: if I accept stabilization, then I renounce investments, I cut back on purchases of machines, I hold to the agreed prices, and so on, but that other guy does not do so, he will get the advantage of me, he will take over the market, he will develop his business, and I will lose out. If I slip by the stabilization program, and it affects the others, I am ahead. And now in this situation--where a form of agreed behavior (adherence to the stabilization program) depends entirely on mutual trust--the question arises: Does that kind of trust exist within our society among the republics and provinces, among the individual sectors of the economy, and among individual organizations of associated labor? Usually business logic which is the result of a lack of confidence in the behavior of others and an attempt to realize one's own interests regardless of community interests, has the result that a majority will feel that others will not behave honestly. In the final analysis that is a lesson of our experience. Which is why I come back to the judgment at the outset: everyone strives to adhere to his former behavior, which causes further stagnation and the failure of the stabilization program.

Zupanov: That is that double standard, which is now manifested on a broader scale. Even though the proclamations speak about one thing, experience demonstrates the opposite. We pay our respects to the former, but we follow the latter in our behavior.

Siber: When among wolves, you must howl.

We Have Three Sets of Holies

Question: There is no doubt that the question of the simultaneous value orientations and double standard subsumes as well the question of greater or

less success in the political socialization of members of our society, especially with respect to young generations.

Siber: On the topic of political socialization, what interests me above all is a problem which has been noted in a number of research projects. Which is this Homo duplex who unreservedly accepts self-management socialism and its values, even when he does not understand certain changes taking place in society, but in whom another political and value orientation exists simultaneously alongside this basic value commitment. That is, there are several of these other value orientations which are manifested to a greater or lesser extent in our society.

The first of them is the state-socialism syndrome of centralism, unitarianism, and so on, which is present to a fair degree in those who want strong government on behalf of social justice, social security and certain long-range decisions. Another is the bourgeois ideological orientation toward the multiparty system of private ownership. Its adherents favor self-management and social ownership, but they want certain solutions offered by traditional bourgeois democracy. The third orientation, which is apolitical only in appearance, is the bureaucratic-technocratic orientation, which is based on knowledge, efficient organization and certain economic solutions, and which has been given a powerful impetus in the development of the market economy.

Within these orientations, to a lesser degree in some and a greater degree in others, there exists still another syndrome which is the basis for the particular ideological orientation, but which is not an ideological orientation in itself. This is the existence and recognition of an authoritarian, conformist and rigid personality, which is shaped through the authority of the father of the family and is later reinforced in the authoritarian structure of the school, and then finds its expression even within the work organization and within the political structure. In view of this how can we expect straightforward self-management behavior from individuals--who have been socialized in a manner so as to subject them to authority, but which are also prepared to impose their authority on anyone who is their subordinate? And finally, in all these ideological orientations there is ample evidence of all the problems of relations among the nationalities as that phenomenon which is most emotionally saturated and which in any social crisis will be the cutting edge of any of these ideological orientations.

We Are All for Socialism, But ...

If you want to make distinctions within our society, then it cannot be done with the question of whether we are for socialism or not--we are all for socialism. The differences come over those parallel systems which we have still not overcome. So that when we speak about political socialization, then the conclusion would run: the problem is not how we shall politically socialize the young generation on the basic value system of our society, but how we shall educate them so as to note the differences between these parallel ideological orientations.

Zupanov: The problem is that these parallel value orientations are not learned in school, they are the collective experience, they arise out of our experience and are therefore present in our concrete human behavior. At the level of the great questions and the great decisions, we know what people will say and how they will act, but when it comes to the specific questions, specific orientations in life itself, they will act in accordance with these parallel orientations, and that is the problem.

Question: I would leave it for the end of this discussion for you yourselves to attempt to put a question which you find arises in every discussion of socialist morality, ethics and value system.

Siber: Mine is a question which I think every man would have to ask himself: Would I be able to sacrifice certain social privileges which I have and which are not in conformity with the basic value system of our society?

Zupanov: Or put another way, how would I behave in a situation of extreme frustration were those privileges in jeopardy? That is the question.

7045

CSO: 2800

SFRY: WRITER OSKAR DAVICO CONVICTED OF SLANDER IN BELGRADE COURT

Fine or Imprisonment Sentence

LD281908 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 28 Dec 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Oskar Davico, the writer, was fined 4,000 dinars in the third municipal court by a court council chaired by Zoran Stojkovic on Tuesday, 25 December, for slander under article 92 paragraph 2 and in connection with paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Davico must pay the fine within 30 days. If the fine is not paid, it will be replaced by imprisonment at the rate of 100 dinars for every full day.

Writer Oskar Davico was sued by Saveta Gligoric for slander and utterance of untruths concerning her late husband, critic, academician and university Professor Velibor Gligoric, contained in an interview given by Davico and published in the literary journal OVDJE in December 1978.

Denounces Sentence, Will Go to Prison

LD281908 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1018 GMT 28 Dec 79 LD

[Text] Belgrade--I have been sentenced to pay a 4,000-dinar fine, Oskar Davico stated to TANJUG correspondent Djordje Zorkic, but instead of paying I will go to prison for 40 days and I will not appeal the sentence, because doing so would mean that I recognize the legitimacy of the sentence. It would mean that I recognize this kind of justice and the intervention of the courts in matters which are not within the province of the courts. This is the second sentence of this kind to be imposed on me this year. On the previous occasion, in a dispute with Erih Kos, I was handed down a fine of 7,500 dinars.

I am fed up with paying. I too several times have been exposed to insults. I have even been called an anticommunist and all kinds of other things. But I did not go to court to protect my rights. The court has nothing to

do with matters of literature. The court is called upon to apply the law, but I consider this to be a misuse of the rights enjoyed by the court. The court makes sovereign decisions on everything, including things which it does not understand. This is abstract justice: I am disgusted over the fact that a court should get involved in rows and disputes over such ridiculous questions. [sentence garbled] As if this were a matter of some usual things which really belong to the province of the courts. It all boils down to the fact that my accusers felt offended and that I am going to prison. And I will go there too. More than 48 years have passed since I was last released from prison, Oskar Davico said to TANJUG at the end of his statement in connection with the sentence pronounced on him.

CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

RETIRING GENERALS LIST--Belgrade, 24 Dec, TANJUG--By order of the Supreme Commander of the SFRY Armed Forces, and on the basis of the law on service in the armed forces, which under certain conditions envisaged the cessation of active military service, active service of the following officers will cease on 31 December: Colonel Generals Petar Babic, Branko Borojevic, Ivan Dolnicar, Dragoljub Petrovic Tade, Dragoslav Petrovic Gorski, Stane Potocar, Daka Puac; Lt Colonel generals; Dusan Batinica, Dr Djordje Dragic, Milivoj Gluhak, Joz Jakic, Radoslav Jovic, Milan Kovacevic, Dr Hajrudin Kulenovic, Veljko Miladinovic, Milorad Miscevic, Jose Ozbolt, Milojica Pantelic, Zika Stojacic; Major generals; Milorad Anjzpiller, Vladimir Bajic, Dragan Cirovic, Abaz Deronja, Veljko Dimic, Zdravko Kolar, Janez Kramaric, Dusan Milanovic, Angel Mojsovski, Stanislav Ocokoljic, Zivko Rodic, Josip Rukavina and Dimitrije Savevski. [Text] [AU280849 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 79 p 1 AU]

CSO: 2800

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